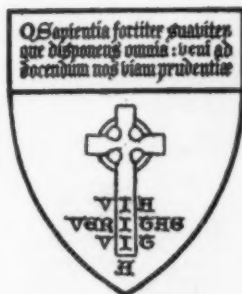


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FREDERICK C. GRANT and BURTON S. EASTON

In Collaboration with Representative Scholars
throughout the Church

Founded MCMXVIII by SAMUEL A. B. MERCER

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JULY, 1926

NUMBER I

CONTENTS

The Future of the Episcopal Church in America	
	<i>Henry Davies</i> 1
The Egyptian Hallel.....	<i>Herbert H. Gowen</i> 21
Vita Sanctae Brigidae Virginis.....	<i>W. F. Whitman</i> 42
Aramaic and the Synoptic Problem.....	<i>J. F. Springer</i> 47
Notes, Comments, and Problems.....	<i>Burton S. Easton</i> 56
Signed Reviews.....	60
Brief Notes on Books Received.....	105

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THE FUTURE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA

By HENRY DAVIES, Collingdale, Pennsylvania

Charles Kingsley, in one of his letters, wrote: "The longer I live the more I find the Episcopal Church the most rational, liberal and practical form which Christianity has yet assumed." Here speaks the constitutional optimist, the nature-lover and poet, the evangelical liberal, the socially-minded Christian and loyal churchman, a not unworthy member of the group to which F. D. Maurice, Dean Mansell, and F. W. Robertson belonged. His verdict represents the prevailing mood of the Victorian era at its zenith.

Contrasted with it is the opinion of the Rt. Rev. A. C. Headlam, D.D., bishop of Gloucester, England, who, after several weeks' visitation among the Episcopal Churches in the United States, is reported to have said, on his return to England: "The Episcopal Church in the United States occupies a difficult and uncertain position. It seems probable that the Evangelicals will gradually be absorbed by the Protestant bodies, particularly the Methodists, while the Ritualists will go over to Rome. As a separate entity, isolated as it is, there does not seem to be much

future for the Episcopal Church in America."¹ The bishop speaks as a leading advocate of unity, as the author of a scholarly scheme for the recognition, by the Episcopal Churches, of their relations with the separated bodies, as a conservative Anglican, and as a scholar and statesman of wide experience and vision.

Between Kingsley's view and that of the Bishop of Gloucester there is wide divergence of opinion as to the future of the Episcopal Church which merits thoughtful consideration at the present moment.

I

Predicting the future of any institution in the United States, especially a religious institution, is a hazardous and almost gratuitous proceeding, for, under our very flexible social structure, the people's verdicts have a tantalising way of upsetting the best calculated prophecies, especially of visitors to their shores. Perhaps the best means of weighing a judgment of the prophetic type is to consider it in the light of the past and present.

In forecasting the future of the Episcopal Church in America this procedure seems indispensable, and we shall follow it in this brief diagnosis of a very interesting situation.

First, let us recall the past history of the Episcopal Church in America, for upon that both its present and future prospects largely depend. Now, episcopacy was the earliest form of established Christianity to be acknowledged in America. The Roman Church touched land here and there, in the East and West, as early as the fifteenth century, and perhaps earlier, and established "missions," but its local hierarchy did not take root until later. The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth in 1620, and proceeded to organize the New England church-communities after their own minds. But it was Captain Smith, with the Rev. Robert Hunt and his colleagues, who first set up English Christianity, *i.e.* the episcopal polity, at Jamestown, in 1607, thirteen years before the landing of the Pilgrims, and thus became the virtual founders of English Christianity in America.

Two factors of very great importance contributed to the

¹ Newspaper report.

growth of the Episcopal Church in this country from that time down to the Revolution. One of these was the character of the settlers who followed in the wake of Captain Smith. These were almost entirely Cavaliers, who brought with them English ideas of the relation of church and state. In the Southern colonies—and in this the contrast with New England is most marked—we find that the Episcopal Church was established and supported by a body of people who were practically all Anglicans, who, while setting up the secular machinery of government (also English), set up the Episcopal Church, with its traditions, ritual, and polity, at the same time. The fact that the religion of the Colonies was thus predominantly an inheritance from England, not a creation *de novo*, accounts, in large measure, for the development of English Christianity in the early period of our history, and for the strong feeling (which still exists among Episcopalians, at least) that the church is, and ought to be, in a real sense, a *national* institution. It certainly was this before the Revolution, and had there been no Revolution, it probably would be so now.

The other factor that contributed to the growth of episcopacy before the Revolution was the generally high character of the missionaries, pastors and teachers, who came over, at the direction of the S. P. G. and the English bishops, to propagate the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Episcopal Church among the colonists. This is a largely forgotten chapter of our history, for little is popularly known of these men, who have, for the most part, sunk into obscurity in the minutes of the meetings of parishes to which they ministered, and have gone "unhonored and unsung" to their reward. Their peripatetic habits naturally militated against a more substantial recognition. But no account of the progress of the Episcopal Church in America, in the colonial period, would be complete, or even honest, which omitted from the record their pioneering efforts.

The important point to notice is that these ambassadors of English Christianity were on the whole good types of the Chris-

tian priest and missionary, men of culture, and of course, above everything else, English churchmen to the backbone. Out on the fringes of the Puritan settlements (it was often more than a man's life was worth to try to get *inside* them!) we find these men wandering from place to place, gathering groups of people together for worship according to the ritual of the English Church and for the administration of the Sacraments, especially the Holy Communion. In the prosecution of this work, they "endured hardship as good soldiers of Jesus Christ," and we do well to hold their labors in grateful remembrance.

Before the Revolution, then, aided by these two propitious influences, the Episcopal Church started its American career with a certain prestige, lacking in other quarters, and grew steadily and naturally, as the immigration increased, as an established form of Christianity, as a locally adapted national institution, at home wherever English ideas of culture, loyalty, and liberty prevailed. Though lacking the strong pioneering instincts of the Churches of the Pilgrims, and comparatively guiltless of their persecuting zeal, the Episcopal Church and its *impedimenta* fitted well into the situation, growing, as we have said, with the expansion of the Colonies, especially in the South. Wherever it took root it grew. Its clergy, in contrast with those of other faiths, not only set up here the parochial system of the Mother Church, but established schools, academies, and libraries, in which the "gentry" were taught Latin, French, and Mathematics by competent scholars, many of whom were Oxford and Cambridge graduates. Thus they brought to these shores a double blessing: a noble form of piety and a standard of learning and manners, which the Episcopal Church has never quite lost.

It is well to recall these things when we are considering so vital a question as the future of the Episcopal Church in America. Americans are none too mindful, in these days of transition and unrest, of the spiritual dowry they inherited from England in their earlier and happier (?) days. Aside from its doctrinal and ecclesiastical claims, and wholly apart from the special loyalties

which Anglicanism involved before the Revolution, it cannot be denied that *episcopacy has been a cultural influence of the highest value in the New World*. The fact that so many distinguished Americans, who became prominent leaders of their day and generation, especially in the Revolution, acknowledged allegiance to it is the best possible proof of its vital importance. Furthermore it will be admitted, we think, that this influence has been out of all proportion to the numbers, never very large, of those who belonged to the Church, and that, in spite of the gloomy forecast of the Bishop of Gloucester, it will continue to furnish stimulus to patriots and humanitarians who seek through religion to achieve the highest welfare of man.

II

But the *future* of the Episcopal Church in America was profoundly affected by the Revolution. It was mortgaged with small hope of redemption; more than that, it was almost destroyed, and though it has to some extent recovered, it has not so far regained its lost prestige. It is not difficult now, a hundred and fifty years after the event, to see why this was so.

In the first place, being essentially an English institution, it suffered the opprobrium that befel everything else that was English. It is not necessary to review the dreadful years, from 1776 to 1789, when the Episcopal Church was prostrated and almost ceased to function, not only for the lack of a sufficient number of bishops and clergy to carry on, but for the far more serious change of civil loyalty and obedience (always inculcated in the liturgy) which the Revolution brought about. This collapse of the fundamental and methodical life of the Church was enough, of itself, to account for the subsidence of interest and the gradual eclipse of faith in the Anglican Church during this period.

But there was more behind, which has a bearing on the present situation and the future destiny of Anglican Christianity in this

country. The Roman Church, which has never fully appreciated the significance of the American Revolution as a liberation movement, maintained a neutral attitude during the struggle and capitalised a considerable amount of the inevitable unrest incident thereto, and thus experienced a "boom," in spite of the fact that while the colonists were shaking off their allegiance to the English King, this branch of the Catholic Church was compromised by its loyalty to an Italian priest, occupying the Papal throne in Rome, and claiming spiritual suzerainty over the whole Christian world. On the other hand, we must not forget that the Revolution was also contemporaneous with the evangelical revival in England under the Wesleys, Whitfield, and others, which spread to American shores, and was quickly caught up by the people, suffering from a political and economic upheaval, which proved fertile soil for revivalism, especially in Georgia and the Carolinas. We are now sufficiently removed in time from those days to see that this movement was a reaction from ritual religion, formalism, and a theology of accommodation, to a religion of inward conversion, vivid spiritual experience (often bizarre), and Arminianism. Between these two extremes, it was inevitable that the Episcopal Church, compromised as it was by the change of civil loyalty and obedience, should suffer loss. The combination of forces against it, political, economic and theological, as history proves, almost crushed it.

That the Episcopal Church ever rallied from the disaster is one of the striking proofs of its vitality. It is not enough to moralise in a philosophical way and say, being essentially a religious institution the Revolution could not utterly destroy it; that its "death" and "revival" only followed a general rule, and came to pass normally. As a matter of fact, the Episcopal Church did not recover, and has not yet recovered, its lost prestige, in America, as a national church, and probably never will do so simply because the severance of the ties with England indelibly marked the passing of the peculiar *authority* which the Anglican Church once enjoyed among large numbers of the

colonists. It is now practically certain that the American Republic will never officially recognise any brand of Christianity, Catholic, Anglican, or Protestant. Until she does so, it must appear somewhat presumptuous for any church within its civil jurisdiction to arrogate to itself the title of national or American. The Revolution destroyed all hope of an organic union of Church and State, especially after the pattern of the Church of England.

But there is another reason for the peculiar position occupied by our Church during the Revolution and after. When the Episcopal Church, by gathering together its resources of men and property, began the work of reconstruction, it found itself confronted by a chaotic nest of problems, some of which still await solution. Acting on the principle of "one thing at a time," and trusting in the guidance of the Holy Spirit, it proceeded to set its own house in order, by securing the apostolic succession, through Seabury and White; by revising the Book of Common Prayer; and, most important of all, by sending missionaries into the "new" territories now liberated from British tyranny. In turning its eyes to the West, however, it encountered new difficulties. It found that territory, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, already occupied by religious bodies, whose zeal for the Gospel could not be questioned, whose methods were as unconventional as ours were conventional, and whose teaching was as crudely fundamental as their objects were both political and practical, and not merely religious.

Thus the Episcopal Church, uprooted from its native soil, bereft of its English traditions, deprived of its prestige, and still clinging to a ritual and polity which could not readily be adapted to the new conditions, faltered. What hope was there for the future in competition with more aggressive and adaptable bodies, inspired by the pioneering spirit of Puritan New England? That our Church has recovered some of the losses entailed by the success of the Revolution is a matter of thankful remembrance to all who know its history. Yet it remains true that the Episcopal Church, up to the present, has not made marked progress in the

West, except in the cities (due mostly to immigration), in spite of its splendid courage and zeal for the old established order of religion; and it probably never will, in its present form, dominate in the heterogeneous population of the United States.

The truth is that the Episcopal Church, more heavily compromised by its inheritance from the Revolution than any other church, Roman or Protestant, has never wholly recovered from the stigma of being "English" and has never been "popular" with the masses for this reason. Like other "national" churches, the Lutheran, for example, it has recruited its membership mainly from the solid English elements of the American community, or from British immigration, as the Lutherans have from the Teutonic. Fortunately for us, these elements have represented some of the best strains of the population. But to call the Episcopal Church in America either "national" or "American" is, at any rate since the Revolution, to indulge in exaggeration, especially when it is remembered that we are now outnumbered by a dozen other groups whose claims seem to be equally well authenticated, not to mention the Roman Church, which, in point of numbers, is more "national" than any of them.

Summing up the data so far outlined and generalising from it, I think we may say that no organised form of Christianity suffered more from the Revolution than the Episcopal Church, or Church of England, not only in itself but in its strategic position in relation to the future. In short, the Revolution, almost of necessity, weakened and isolated it, and its *isolation* is still its principal weakness.

III

Since the Revolution, as was inevitable, the Episcopal Church in America has been much occupied with the tasks of reconstruction, readjustment and reorganisation. In seeking to make good its losses as an organised form of Christianity, it proceeded to write constitutions and systems of Canon Law, adapting its

outlook, at first, to the prevailing spirit of republicanism with remarkable fidelity. The example of the English Church, however, was not wholly forgotten; for though the colonies threw off their allegiance to the English King, and therefore to his spiritual lords, the bishops, the essential principles of English Church government were not disclaimed, and they actually live on in our articles of incorporation and in the Canon Law of the reconstructed Church with this difference, namely, that the American polity was patterned rather closely after the Constitution of the United States, with its two chambers, the House of Bishops corresponding to the Senate, and the House of Deputies corresponding to the House of Representatives. Recently, a "cabinet" has been added in the Executive Council, and it is not at all unlikely that an archbishop may be chosen to complete the practical analogy.

It is open to question whether, in thus following the political pattern, our fathers were well advised. For it would seem that, in the interests of greater freedom, the analogy between the spiritual and secular forms of government, especially in a republic, should be as little stressed as possible, because there is always a tendency at work to think that the making of laws is the cure-all of irregularity in the Church and the only sure protection against innovation. The obsession with "machinery" too easily becomes the main business of ecclesiastical officialdom. In our judgment, and evidently in that of the Bishop of Gloucester, this obsession is one of the perils threatening the future of our Church. Had it been less stressed, its progress, as a factor in the life of the nation, would probably have been more rapid. As already remarked, there is always danger of *overworking* the political and legal style in religion, as the whole history of the Church shows. All kinds of corruption have crept into the Church through this loophole, from Constantine's time down to the latest General Convention, and not a few of our failures can be directly traced to our obsession with it in these later days. Nothing seems clearer than the fact that while the Church, as

Christ envisaged it, was an organism, a body with a soul, it was quite as certainly *not* an organisation; nor were its methods either secular or political, but purely spiritual. That was the main reason why it spread so rapidly in the first three centuries of our era.

As we are thinking in this paper of the future of the Episcopal Church in America, it is a fair question to ask whether it rests with the canonists, politicians, and organisers, or with the thinkers, prophets, and spiritual leaders, and their disciples. One thing seems clear from history and confirmed by daily experience: institutionalism, with its mechanics, never has, and probably never will, save either the Church or humanity. It is always the individual, inspired of God, who has cleared the path of progress. The reason for this is plain: it is because the *over*-organisation of any institution, not excepting the Church, has a tendency to petrify and become an obstruction to the very cause it is founded to promote. The machine idea gets between the individual and his goal. Order is good and necessary, but it can be overdone. Too many laws, even Canon laws, may defeat the end of government and even become a menace to legitimate freedom. The Bishop of Gloucester probably had this danger in mind when he deplored the American obsession with machinery and organisation.

We have already paid somewhat dearly for this isolating policy. We have made it difficult for the people to understand the Episcopal Church. Now, let it be frankly acknowledged, as any experienced pastor will admit, that to the American people, who go to church, the Church is not, and never will be, regarded as a rubric-ruled organization; they never have, they do not now, and they probably never will live according to its external rules. The Church is to them a spiritual fellowship, growing by a certain mystical or internal life, in which, when shared, they are brought into direct communion with God and with each other. It is a spiritual and invisible Kingdom, witnessed, often in silence, by the Holy Spirit, the lack of Whose presence cannot be made up by

secularising its message, or by passing laws, or by the adoption of "business methods" in conducting its work. Perhaps the people are nearer the truth of things than we think! *Vox populi, vox Dei!* In one of the subtlest of His ironies, our Lord said, "The children of this world are wiser than the children of light." Realising that the saying is ironical, we infer from it that "light" is always preferable to this world's "wisdom" in spiritual things; that what the Church always needs is not more worldly wisdom but more direct illumination from God; that we pay too dearly when we seek to hedge the life of the Spirit about by over-organising it. And there is some danger that we may have done this in other directions to be mentioned: as well as in the broad sense of isolating it by over-organising it. Two or three illustrations of this danger may be given here.

Under the weight of our increasing machinery of organisation, the conception of the *episcopate* is changing. Under the old régime, bishops were honored and loved as "reverend fathers in God." Now, that idea has been considerably clouded. Our bishops are not as free as they were to function as the spiritual leaders of their flocks. More and more they tend to become parts of a hierarchy, which only lacks a capstone, in the form of an archbishop, with residence in Washington, like the President of the United States, to make the resemblance to the secular government more complete. The attempt may yet be made by the General Convention to legislate this additional office into the constitution of the Church.² It is somewhat strange that such a move should find favor in a country like the United States, which began its career by abolishing all but the simplest forms of offices and titles. In England it is different. There, the Court and the Church are still closely related. Yet, even in that country, while the Methodists have grown strong in numbers and influence, they have no bishops, and their American brethren have! I venture the opinion too that the English bishops have remained

² The above was written before the triennial Convention in New Orleans, October, 1925, when virtually this step was actually taken.

truer to type than ours, because they are not so obsessed with machinery.

Since the Revolution, this change has been most marked, and constitutes a departure from the original idea of the bishop. It cannot be said too emphatically that the more a bishop becomes immersed in the details of organisation and finance, the less firmly is the Church safeguarding its spiritual future. The normal result of any mechanical obsession is the loss of creative spiritual leadership, and this loss will be felt, not only by the rank and file of the clergy and laity, but also by the bishops themselves. It is useless, perhaps, to compare the bishops of a former age with those now in office. Different times produce different bishops. Our present bishops, in many instances, are the equal of any of the past, in piety, scholarship, and administrative ability; but the candid critic, who is also a loyal churchman, would wish to see them freed from so much mechanical or administrative duty, and given more time for study, meditation, and prayer, so that the spiritual development of the Church, which is the chief burden of their office, may be safeguarded against future impoverishment. As things are, they must, like our college presidents, whom they resemble in some ways, be busy arranging budgets, raising quotas, building cathedrals, and presiding at meetings, whose importance is out of all proportion to their almost diurnal occurrence.

Another result of the secular disorders that befel the Episcopal Church of America after the Revolution, the effects of which are still felt, is the almost autocratic powers acquired by *vestries*. In the English Church, the vestries, indeed, the whole lay body, were, and still are, to a very marked degree, subject to the direct spiritual guidance of the bishops and their clergy. And as late as the eighteenth century the vestries of the Episcopal Churches in America were merely advisory boards. The bishops and priests were not only the spiritual guides, but the ultimate arbiters in matters of parochial economy. (Historians, with an eye for local color, tell us that in many of the parishes of the South,

before the Revolution, the meetings of the vestries were largely social functions; that some of them even met in taverns, where the chief business transacted was the consumption of good food and drink at the expense of the congregation; that membership in them was a coveted social honor, and often an hereditary one.)

A change took place during and after the Revolution, which was the inevitable result of the economic crisis that befel the parishes, so ruthlessly deprived of bishops and clergy. In the critical years of this period, the vestries were forced to act as the sole authority in the local church—as custodians of properties, as legal advisers, as administrators of trust funds, as guardians of the altar vessels, as trustees, and even as the responsible agents in engaging or discharging the clergy. The severance of the ties with England, of course, made it impossible for the English bishops, much as they might desire to do so, to exercise their authority; their jurisdiction in the colonial parishes came to an end with the success of the Revolution. Nor was this the whole story. For, in some of the colonies, the vestries had already acquired additional powers from the State, in the shape of laws governing the relations of pastors and people, as, for example, in Maryland, where the Vestry Act of 1789 is still in force, conferring on *vestries* the right to remove, after due notice, any clergyman who may be *non persona grata* to them, even without the advice of a bishop or consulting the wishes of a congregation! Frequent attempts to have this Act repealed have failed down to the present day. In fairness to the dioceses and parishes where this Act has been in operation, it must be said that its powers have not often been invoked, yet the anomalous fact remains that the power to do so still exists, and the implication of the post-revolutionary situation, so far as it affected the status of the vestry, remains, namely, that it is sacrosanct and virtually the sole governing body in the local church, a view very commonly held in the general church in America to this day. While it is happily true that the vestries of the Episcopal Churches in America, as a whole, defer to the godly advice of the bishop, as well as to the

mature thought of the members of the congregation, in any important matter affecting the welfare of the Church, they have sometimes been autocratic and worldly in their attitude towards the clergy, who serve in the sacred ministry. So, in order to safeguard the future of the Church, it would seem that some curtailment of the authority of the vestry is necessary, if only for the sake of preserving the democratic character of our polity, and especially for the defense of the clergy against arbitrary and unethical treatment. In the Roman and Methodist Churches they do these things better than we do.

Another problem, growing out of the changes referred to and affecting the future of the Episcopal Church in America, concerns the placing and economic support of the clergy. Our failure in this duty may also fairly be regarded as another inheritance from the Revolution, felt more keenly by us, perhaps, because we were of English descent, and went down in the economic crash of the Revolution along with other English loyalties. In old English law, as is well known, this problem was solved in a very simple way. The monks who lived *secundum regulas* (according to rules) in their respective houses or societies, and were hence called the "regular clergy," were thus adequately provided for. The "parochial clergy," who fulfilled their ministry *in seculo* (in the world), were supported by the parishes. After the Reformation these distinctions naturally faded away, and the clergy of the reformed Church of England became a liability of the people, or beneficiaries under various endowments. The Roman Church, on the other hand, adhered to the old order, and has never wavered in its duty adequately to support its clergy. The Methodists, too, in the itinerant system, adopted a rule in regard to their ministers. But the Episcopal Church of America has no system either of placing or supporting its clergy, nor any rule by which their status can be determined. They are the "freest" ministers in the world!

Before the Revolution, the colonial clergy were "supplied" by the London authorities, by appointment, and their support was

made a charge on the parishioners' crops, by tithing, or by glebes. But all this was swept away by the Revolution, the tide carrying with it the parochial system, and much good besides, probably never to return. The result has been that our clergy have not since that time, except in special cases, enjoyed an assured place or adequate support even in their own churches. The thoroughly secular idea that a cleric is not different from any other person, and is "worth" only what he can get by his own effort and brains, has gradually displaced the older and more spiritual idea, dating back to the spacious days of the past, when the priest and the prophet, though poor in this world's goods, were honored because of their vocation, and spared the shame of begging their bread. It is safe to say that the future of the Episcopal Church in America will remain in doubt so long as it maintains an uncertain attitude towards this problem of the placing and economic support of its clergy. Not only shall we probably be confronted by an increasing shortage of high-grade candidates for the ministry, but, in spite of our pension system, we shall have to face the more serious scandal of the "dead line" and unemployment.

IV

There are still deeper causes at work jeopardising the future of the Episcopal Church in America, of which, no doubt, the Bishop of Gloucester took note when he made his gloomy forecast, with a brief mention of which we may conclude our diagnosis of this important subject. Two of these, since the Civil War, have attained the acute stage and for that reason deserve special attention.

The first of these relates to the conflict in the Episcopal Church between the different types of churchmanship—the war of tags and labels—which bids fair to dismember us. Now, it will be admitted that there is far more danger of this catastrophe in America than in England, because, in this country, ecclesiastical tradition does not count for so much, and because the tendency

to follow the crowd is more marked among us. In the freer air of republicanism, when compared with monarchism, with State and Church united, the words "loyalty" and "authority" do not, and cannot, when applied to the Church, mean as much.

One should beware of setting too much store by the names which have been employed to describe the various parties within the Episcopal Church of America—high, low, broad, evangelical, evangelical-liberal, conservative, modernist, fundamentalist, and so forth—for none of them are scientific, or indeed distinctive enough to account for the more radical rift underlying them, which constitutes our real peril. I think it was Bishop Doane who deplored the tendency, which became marked about a half-century ago, to *classify* churchmen according to their formal relationships and ritual practices. He thought, and there are many who agreed with him, that the word "churchman" should simply imply allegiance to the *whole tradition* of the Church of Jesus Christ, Catholic, Protestant and Modernist, and that such adjectives as "Protestant" and "Episcopal" might well be spared provided the noble word "Church" was given its full force.

We have departed far from this godly simplicity with succeeding years; a deep rift has appeared and now threatens our future. In the English Church to-day three parties or schools of thought with fairly marked characteristics may be noted: the Anglo-Catholics, who emphasise the history of the Church, giving great weight to tradition and authority; the Evangelicals, who rely upon vivid personal experience; the Modernists, who submit the whole content of Christianity to a detailed criticism and try to explain it in terms of current thought. A fourth party is in process of formation, the Christian Humanists, who are seeking to synthesise the old and the new with *genus homo* as the measure of all things. With us, these groups are popularly reduced to *two*, for which names have been adopted agreeable to our common church-consciousness, viz., the Romanising party and the Fundamentalist party. This does not mean, of course, that the other groups have not corresponding members in this country.

We are aware that the Anglo-Catholic Union have headquarters over here, and some of our clergy are its loyal members. But, on account of the hyphen, it has about as much prospect of success with the American public as the restoration of the English monarchy. In fact, no hyphenated organisation will ever succeed in this country. Our people are not yet sufficiently educated, or interested, to distinguish between what is "Anglican" and what is "Catholic," and when these two adjectives are hyphenated they are not moved from their conviction that a churchman must be *either* a Fundamentalist *or* a Catholic of the Roman type. Within the Episcopal Church, it is true, the Anglo-Catholics, though not numerically strong, are splendidly organised; yet I venture the opinion that among their fellow churchmen they are regarded as more Roman than Anglican, and nothing we can do or say will disabuse their minds of this conviction, which, after all, is one of the outgrowths of our history.

Though the Modernists in the Episcopal Church of America are disinclined to admit it, yet it is undeniable that the Fundamentalists outnumber them fifty to one, and still constitute the main body of our membership, who remain in the fold upon the understanding that our polity and doctrine are pledged to defend the fundamentalist faith in all its purity against the encroachments of Romanism or Reason. Whoever has attended the sessions of our General Convention in the last twenty-five years will surely admit that the conflict between these two groups has been critical, and now, as the Bishop of Gloucester believes, threatens our future. On several occasions in these years the rift has appeared, when the voice of reason has been drowned in hot partisan debates. Many times the situation has been saved only by the intervention of the laity. Our religious press, too, what is left of it, has become divided, the *Churchman* being predominantly modernist, the *Living Church* Anglo-Catholic, and the *Southern Churchman* Evangelical.

The question raised by this situation, and it is a serious one, is this: what is to be the *future* character of the Episcopal Church

in America? Will it be Roman or Fundamentalist? If numbers alone could determine this issue, there could be no hesitation in making reply. Probably already the current agitation in favor of Fundamentalism has settled it. But we have to consider many things in this matter besides numbers. Indeed, the question is broader than the Church itself, involving the attitude of the general public, especially of the younger generation, upon whose shoulders, in the future, the responsibility of deciding it will rest. Personally, I think that a pragmatic solution is far more probable than a purely theoretical or official one. By that I mean that there will probably be a drift, among Episcopalians, either towards the one camp or the other. Which it will be depends upon circumstances. That drift, however, is already in progress. The drift to Rome is perhaps not so pronounced as the other, but it certainly exists. The drift to Fundamentalism, especially to the Methodist-Episcopal Church, is more marked and now constitutes a positive tendency, which explains, in some measure, the recent statistical decreases reported by several of our dioceses. The fact is that with all our historic prestige, the membership of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States still constitutes less than one per cent. of the total population, which shows that we are not keeping pace with the national growth and may actually be feeding the Roman and Fundamentalist Churches with some of our own children.

At present, no church in the United States is having a particularly happy or prosperous time, and the outlook is none too bright for any of them. Economic pressure is forcing many of the weaker ones out of business, especially in the rural sections and crowded cities. And the Episcopal Church, in this respect, is not favored above the rest. Theological unrest, though often exaggerated, is also forcing new alignments among the clergy and laity. In the general uncertainty, some, of both orders, are seeking "safety" in the bosom of Rome, some in the restful calm of the Society of Friends, some in the vivid evangelism of the Protestant bodies, some in the numerous forms of "new"

thought, which promise a cure for the worry and nervous strain of life. All this shows that the drift, referred to, is in progress; also, that we may expect it to increase in the future as American civilisation becomes more complex, and problematical, as it certainly will.

Meanwhile, what of the future of the Episcopal Church in America? Is the Bishop of Gloucester's gloomy forecast justified, or was Kingsley nearer the heart of the matter, though he did not indulge in prophecy? That we have come to the parting of the ways all thoughtful churchmen know, and hence are asking of the Spirit, *Quo vadis?* Perhaps this is the most hopeful sign of the times, as it may provoke men to more prayer and zeal in seeking the truth that is to make them free. To those of us who, by inheritance and conviction, are Episcopalians and love the Church of our English ancestry, the verdict of Kingsley, that it is "the most rational, liberal and practical form which Christianity has assumed," will appear not only true to fact but according to experience. But the genial Kingsley was writing of the mid-Victorian era, and of England, not of the United States. Whether his verdict will hold of the future of the American branch of the old tree, and of other Episcopal Churches in communion with it, is open to doubt.

Personally, I am only sure of two things: (1) I believe that the Episcopal Church in America will cease to be when it ceases to be Protestant; and (2) it will cease to be should it ever become *merely* Protestant. So long as it is true to its apostolic character as a sacramental and serving church; so long as it functions through a ministry of bishops, priests, deacons, and laity filled with the apostolic spirit; so long as it is a church in which reason, comprehending sympathy, toleration, inclusiveness, and zeal for humanity exert their influence for unity and social betterment; so long as its supreme prayer is the prayer of Christ, "not my will, but Thine be done"; so long as its material and spiritual resources are devoted to the service of mankind, not to

its own official aggrandisement, it has a future—it can, and it will, prosper.

In these days of rapid and radical change, however, it is vain to make predictions. Many times before in its history the Episcopal Church has been in similar straits and come through with credit. What *our* future may be will depend in large measure on our ability to learn the lessons (or mistakes) of the past and not to repeat them, and especially on the ending or mending of the *isolation*, in which the Church must continue to lose ground and favor with the American people. Above all, it depends more than we realize on keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. If we fight among ourselves we shall, like all bellicose nations, perish, and deserve to. The Kingdom of God is righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit.

After all, perhaps the Bishop of Gloucester, in predicting the disintegration of American Anglicanism, deliberately shortened his vision, as prophets have a way of doing, and meant only to warn us of our peril. If so, he did us a real service, and not only us, but all the people of God in the United States, who, mistaking the means for the end, forget that the increase of the Body of Christ comes about, first, by the law of His spirit, and next, by the contribution which each church makes to the building up of the whole organism in love.

In the ultimate analysis, only by love can the Episcopal Church, or any other church for that matter, create the life in men that is eternal in time, and fulfil His word who said, "Upon this rock will I build my Church." It is true of institutions as of individuals, "He that would save his life shall lose it; he that loseth his life, for my sake and the gospel's, shall save it." There is no salvation in *isolation*.

THE EGYPTIAN HALLEL

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This is the name commonly given to the little group of Psalms consisting of the Hallel hymns from 111 to 117 inclusive. The name probably is derived from nothing more important than the reference to the Exodus in Ps. 114. Out of the four collections of Hallel hymns in the Psalter this group has more than the usual interest. In the first place there are associations with some of the most striking of the Hebrew festivities, connected with the Passover, the New Moon, and the Dedication of the Temple. In the second place there are pathetic associations with the Passion of Christ as described by St. Matthew xxvi. 30.

The attempt to re-translate and restore to something like their original form these beautiful hymns of the Old Testament church may be helpful to lovers of the Psalter.

PSALM CXI: FIRST HALLEL ACROSTIC

An acrostic poem, like its twin composition, the 112th, consisting of 22 trimeter lines, arranged in 11 synthetic couplets.

Aleph.	I will thank Thee, Yahweh, with all my heart,
Beth.	Mid the upright and in th' assembly.
Gimel.	Great are the workings of Yahweh,
Daleth.	Studied of all who love Him.
He.	Splendor and glory His doing,
Vav.	And His justice abideth for ever.
Zayin.	Memorial He made for His wonders;
Heth.	Yahweh is gracious and pitiful.
Teth.	Prey to His fearers He giveth;
Yodh.	Remembereth for ever His covenant.

Kaph.	Power to His people declareth,
Lamedh.	To give them the heathen's inheritance.
Mem.	His workings are justice and truth;
Nun.	Trustworthy all of His precepts,—
Ayin.	Established for ever and ever,
Samech.	Done in uprightness and truth.
Pe.	Redemption He sent to His people;
Tsade.	Commanded for ever His covenant.
Qoph.	Holy and fearful His Name;
Resh.	The beginning of wisdom His fear.
Shin.	Good sense is to all who are dutiful;
Tau.	His praise endureth for ever.

Text: In *Daleth* the present translation follows the Gk. rather than the Heb. Either text makes good sense.

In *Kaph* the words "of His works" are the insertion of a copyist, making the line too long.

Similarly in *Mem* the words "of His hands" are the work of a glossator who thought explanation needed. The gloss spoils the metre.

In *Resh* the "Yahweh" must be omitted as a gloss.

The so-called Egyptian Hallel opens with a pair of acrostic hymns which, in one respect twins, are, from another point of view, contrasts. The 111th Psalm is a rosary of the works of God. It gives in a series of alphabetically arranged lines reason for praising God with all one's heart in the midst of the assembly. The 112th is also a rosary, similarly arranged, reciting the reasons for holding the fearer of Yahweh to be blessed.

To begin with (confining ourselves at present to the 111th Psalm) there might appear to be something contradictory between the praise of God which we accustom ourselves to think of as necessarily spontaneous and that use of an artificial framework, such as the acrostic, for achieving that end.

Yet it should be remembered that the praise of God may well be a matter of obligation such as despises not form. Worship

may be as sincere when performed in stated times, places and ways as when improvised and informal.

The use of an acrostic for celebrating some twenty or more praiseworthy elements in the character of God may become a very useful method of making sure that our worship shall be intelligently comprehensive. The pious Moslem who uses his rosary to recite the ninety-nine names of Allah is not necessarily a formalist. So the acrostic Hallel is not necessarily a contradiction in terms.

Three things are possible from this use of the acrostic which are important elements of the spiritual life:

i. It makes for *discipline*—the discipline which is insistence upon the regular, stated and deliberate approach to God which is very often imperilled if left to the fluctuations of feeling. Such discipline is the very reverse of deadening. Out of it comes that reserve power which ensures victory in a crisis. It is significant that the great soldiers of Japan, choosing a form of religion adapted to the needs of their profession, selected the Zen sect of Buddhism, *i.e.* the sect of disciplined meditation.

ii. It makes for *attention*—the attention which prepares the way for the revelation of hidden truths. Every botanist knows the close and formal attention required to make a familiar landscape reveal its treasures. They are there all the time, but only the eye trained to attention is able to make them visible. I once heard Dr. David Starr Jordan describe the lessons he received from Agassiz. The great scientist used to hand his students a fish which they had to look at, turning it over again and again, noting what they saw, until at last by disciplined observation they were qualified as those who knew something of their subject. In like manner must the works of God be contemplated from every possible angle until they reveal to the worshipper the fullness of the Divine character.

iii. It makes for *illumination*. Sooner or later, the truth dwelt upon becomes a personal experience between God and the soul. The long friction of attention achieves its purpose; the fire

burns. It may seem a small thing, if not mere dull routine, to tell over, one by one, such statements about God as fill this Psalm. But the moment comes when out of the heart of the meditation comes a true revelation. In ways we cannot analyse the word becomes a still, small voice. Then we become aware, not merely that we have read a passage from the Psalms, but that we have had converse with the living God.

All night the statue of Memnon seems to sleep, each atom silent beneath the stars. But in the morning the sunlight strikes across the stillness. Then the atoms awake and sing. In like manner, after our rosary is recited, after we have told attentively each of its lettered phrases, new meaning will steal into the song which we have sung with lips and heart in tune :

"I will thank Thee, Yahweh, with all my heart,
Mid the upright and in th' assembly."

PSALM CXII : SECOND HALLEL ACROSTIC

A rosary of the happiness of the man who fears Yahweh. It corresponds with Ps. III which, as we have seen, is an acrostic celebrating the righteousness of God.

Aleph.	Happy is he that feareth Yahweh ;
Beth.	In His commands he greatly delighteth.
Gimel.	Mighty in the land shall be his seed ;
Daleth.	Blessed shall be the race of the upright.
He.	Wealth and riches are in his house,
Vav.	And his righteousness standeth for ever.
Zayin.	Light for the upright shineth ;
Heth.	The righteous is gracious and merciful.
Teth.	Good for the gracious and benevolent !
Yodh.	With justice he his business maintaineth.
Kaph.	For he shall never from his place be moved ;
Lamedh.	An everlasting memory hath the righteous.
Mem.	Of evil things he shall not be afraid :
Nun.	Fixed is his heart : in Yahweh is his trust.

Samech.	His heart establish'd, he shall never fear,
Ayin.	Until upon his foe he looketh.
Pe.	He scattereth, he giveth to the poor;
Tsade.	His righteousness for evermore abideth.
Qoph.	Exalted high in honor is his horn;
Resh.	The wicked seeth and is discomfited.
Shin.	His teeth he gnasheth, wasteth quite away;
Tau.	The wicked man's desire shall surely perish.

Text: Small emendation is needed in a Psalm retained for the most part in its original form through the use of acrostic. In *Aleph* "man" is probably a gloss, inserted by one who deemed the sentence in need of an expressed subject. In *Zayin* "darkness" is an explanatory gloss which makes the line too long. In the following line the "and" is unnecessary since "righteous" is a noun, not an adjective. In *Nun* Briggs regards the "Yahweh" as a gloss, but it is retained here.

The second Hallel, like the first, is an acrostic, and its employment in worship emphasises, as we noted in reference to the last Psalm, the need of devotional discipline, attentive study, and the expectation of the illumination which devout attention brings.

But this Psalm, while like Ps. III in form, is at once its contrast and its complement. That was the rosary of praise to a righteous God, the telling, bead by bead, of the divine attributes which call forth praise. This is the rosary which details the happiness of the righteous man, the man who fears Yahweh.

It will be noted that the two are closely related because the standard by which human virtue is to be appraised is no other than the righteousness of an all-holy God. Man is made in the image of God. Hence it must follow: "Be ye therefore perfect, because your Father in heaven is perfect."

This is particularly important to be observed since to-day there is much teaching of ethics which takes no account of the character or even of the existence of God. Some preach a moral philosophy founded on what is believed to be pleasing to the individual, without reference to the fact that life must choose much

that is for the time and to the senses unpleasant if it is ultimately to gain a higher happiness. Others teach an ethics measured by the supposed good of the community without considering that communities may have standards which are not only different but even inimical the one to the other. The citizens of Gadara certainly supposed that they were acting in the interest of their community when they besought Christ that He would depart out of their coasts. A recent novel tells of a little party on shipboard in which, through the dominance of one sinister individual, all moral standards were practically turned topsy-turvy.

But when we realise (with Dante) that the lower rests upon the higher, not the higher on the lower, then we recognise that only as we conceive ourselves living in a world of moral order can we find a working standard of righteousness. Kant knew that the Universe was a Cosmos, both morally and physically, when he exclaimed, "Two things fill me with boundless awe: the order of the stars in heaven and the moral law in the heart of man." This is what the Veda meant when it proclaimed *Rita*, or Moral Law, as the oldest of the gods.

Three things then emerge from a study of this little Psalm:

i. A *theological* postulate, namely, that our righteousness must have its source in the character of God. The existence and the character of God are the sources of all moral philosophy.

ii. A *Christian* postulate, namely, that the revelation of God in Christ enables us to see the kind of righteousness which alone can make men like God. Righteousness is not something stiff and passionless, but exhibits itself in such things as graciousness, mercifulness and generosity. This is why "righteousness" became to the Jew a synonym for almsgiving, though of course the psalm suggests not the mere doling out of charity, but the spirit which pours itself out "like the rush of a river," even the sacrifice which Christ poured out for all men on Calvary.

iii. The postulate of *immortality*, namely, that the life which thus lays hold on God through Christ "shall never be moved." This point is repeated again and again in the successive verses.

Human life gains by righteousness stability, a stability which makes it part of that "living Will that shall endure, when all that seems shall suffer shock."

It is with a sad glance at the opposite choice made by the wicked that this rosary is finished. He whose mind has by meditation laid hold upon the righteousness of God is not likely to choose the transitoriness and instability of evil ways.

PSALM CXIII: A SONG OF PRAISE

The first Psalm of the Egyptian Hallel proper, used at the three great Festivals, at the Feast of the Dedication, and at the New Moon. The Psalm consists of four tetrastichic strophes in trimeter.

- I. Praise Yahweh, ye servants;
Praise ye Yahweh's Name.
The Name of Yahweh be blessed,
Henceforth and for ever!
- II. From the sun's rising to its setting
Praised be Yahweh's Name;
Exalted above all nations,
Above the heavens His glory!
- III. Who is like Yahweh, our God,—
Who exalteth Himself to sit throned,
Who humbleth Himself to behold
In heaven and on the earth?
- IV. Who lifteth up from the dust,
To set on a throne His people,—
He Who enthroneth the barren,
The joyful mother of sons!

Text: Note in I 1 that we read "servants," not "servants of." The word "Yahweh" is the object. In I 3 the word *y'hi* is a gloss and unnecessary. In IV 1 the word "poor" is a gloss; also the following "from the dunghill lifteth the needy." In IV 2 the words "with princes" are also to be omitted. In IV 3 "the house" is a gloss of explanation.

The third Hallel, as noted above, is the beginning of the Egyptian Hallel proper. It was divided into two portions. The former, consisting of Pss. 113 and 114, was used before the emptying of the second cup. The latter, consisting of Pss. 115, 116 and 117, was sung at the filling of the fourth cup.

We may take it for granted that Jesus used this Psalm at the Passover supper with the disciples gathered around Him in the Upper Room.

It is a very simple hymn of praise for those who regard themselves as servants. Reading into the hymn all the circumstances under which the people of Israel made their covenant with God at the Passover Feast, we are able to understand what were the implications of this word.

But this praise of Yahweh, simple as it seems, expresses three things:

i. The *universality of Yahweh's realm*. His praise is universal, first, in time—"henceforth and for ever." We may make no date for beginning or ending our ascription of praise to God. We do not have to wait for the full revelation of His purpose or for the fulfilment of His processes. God is to be praised while as yet His ways are too dark to be understood, as well as when that work is finished and justified in the eyes of men. His praise is also universal in space—"from the sun's rising to its setting." The prayer "Thy Kingdom come!" is also the faithful proclamation of a fact. To pray aright is also to confess to a divine truth.

ii. Our hymn asserts the *universality of the Divine Providence*. God notes all, great and small alike. In the terse language of the third strophe: "He exalteth Himself to sit throned; He humbleth Himself to behold." Nothing is too high in heaven but He is throned above it; nothing is so lowly on earth as to escape His eye. As in the familiar story of the Quran, the Lord of all the earth is as much interested in sending His angel "to help the little ant at entering in" as in saving King Solomon from falling into sin. *Deus magnus in magnis, maximus in minimis.*"

iii. The Psalm celebrates the *certainty of Yahweh's coming* to the rescue of all who are in need. "He lifteth up His people from the dust." We are at once reminded of the Song of Hannah in the Old Testament and the Song of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the New. Each of these humble servants of Yahweh is lifted up to exult in conscious communion with the Highest through the humility which is made the very condition of divine revelation to the soul.

Is there not here the key to the praise which arose from the Upper Room at Jerusalem when Jesus accepted the Cross in order that He might become "the Servant of Yahweh" in its fullest sense? Out of the humility of His perfect obedience He anticipated the joy "that was set before Him."

No real praise can rise from any other than the lowly and contrite heart, since it is with such that the Highest dwells. The pride which makes man feel sufficient unto himself is necessarily the barrier which excludes both God and the praise of God. There can arise no Hallel except from the humble.

When Mary chose the better part,
She meekly sat at Jesus' feet;
And Lydia's gently opened heart
Was made for God's own temple meet;
Fairest and best adorned is she
Whose clothing is humility.

The saint that wears heaven's brightest crown
In deepest adoration bends;
The weight of glory bows him down
The most when most his heart ascends;
Nearest the throne itself must be
The footstool of humility.

PSALM CXIV: THE NEW EXODUS

A Psalm of singularly beautiful and perfect construction, which (omitting the two glosses) consists of two strophes (or rather Strophe and Antistrophe) each of three trimeter couplets. These couplets have frequently been instanced as perfect specimens of Hebrew parallelism of the synonymous kind.

Strophe. When Israel went forth from Egypt,
 Jacob's house from a stammering people,
 The sea saw it and fled,
 Jordan was backward turned;
 The mountains skipped like rams,
 Hills like lambs of the flock.

Antistrophe. What ailed thee, O sea, that thou fleddest,
 That, Jordan, thou turnedst back,
 That, mountains, ye skipped like rams,
 Ye hills, like lambs of the flock?
 'Twas from the face of the Lord of the earth,
 From the face of Eloah of Jacob.

Text: Note that the Gk. introduces the Psalm with a "Hallelujah." Verse 2, in the English versions, is an obvious gloss spoiling the sequence of the thought. It is apparently suggested by the reference to "the house of Jacob." Verse 8 is similarly suggested and must be regarded as a gloss.

In all probability this Psalm was not originally a Hallel, but it is easy to see why it has been included in the collection. At the chiefest of the great feasts the episode of the national history most in mind was of course the exodus from Egypt. The natural phenomena attendant upon the great emancipation must have been the ever-present subject of grateful reflection. But other parts of the story of Israel were characterised by similar instances of natural barriers transformed by the power of God into means of salvation. So during the wanderings in the wilderness the giving of the law was accompanied by lightnings which flashed from the presence of Yahweh and mountain-shaking thunders such as spake with divine accent to the consciences of men. So again, when Jordan was encountered, what was first seen as an obstacle was, in obedience to the Divine Will, made a pathway of safety for the chosen people.

The Jew ran no danger of accepting a pantheism which identified God with Nature; but neither was he tempted, with the Manichæan, by that form of dualism which excluded God from

all relation to matter. To the Jew Nature was something more than "the living garment of God." It was that harmony of forces which reflected the personality of God. Anarchic as these forces might seem to man, they were really angels of the presence, ever ready to work the Divine will. Fire, wind, tempest and earthquake responded to the Divine command as the servants of the centurion responded when he said to this one and the other, "Come" and "Go" and "Do this," and found them ever alert to obey.

This Old Testament note, moreover, is carried into the New Testament. Christ comes not into a world which is part of a hostile order, but into a physical world in which He is both Lord and Saviour. As "the Firstborn of all creation," He uses the elements as His angels. "Even the wind and the sea obey Him"—

The wild winds hush'd, the angry deep
Sank like a little child to sleep.

The subject thus touched upon is one of much importance to us, since, as F. W. H. Myers used to say: "The most serious question a man may ask is this, Is the Universe of Nature for me or against me in my desire for virtue?" Some have answered negatively. Many survey the question with a doubt. Others, with an instinct which is often rebellious against the facts of experience, feel that God must be in the fire, the tempest and the earthquake, as well as in the still, small voice. It is right, they conclude therefore, to think of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 as in the same category of events as those celebrated in the Psalm. It was right for the Huguenots in 1568 to use this 114th Psalm when the waters of the Loire rose to save them from their pursuers. But is it right to assert the same of the passage of the Indus tributaries by the first Aryan colonists of India when Viçvamitra sang his Vedic song? Is it right to think with the Japanese of the typhoon which scattered the Armada of Kublai Khan as "the Divine wind of Ise"? Are such deliver-

ances as these of the same order as those upon which Israel based her Hallelujah hymns?

We answer, Doubtless, if in these and like events we see physical phenomena as at bottom a parable of spiritual facts. The bread hunger is still the parable of the deeper needs of the spirit and part of the machinery whereby God develops in the spirit the hunger which can only be satisfied in God. So the physical obstacles which stimulate our courage and are transformed into pathways when we refuse to consider them as barriers may turn to our spiritual strengthening even when they succeed in crushing our frail and mortal bodies. Nature and God are still at one.

It is in this spirit we may use the Psalm to-day. Without denying the obvious fact that natural forces may frequently seem hostile to our immediate material convenience, we may have confidence that the ultimate organization of the universe is for our highest good. Francis Borgia, Duke of Gandia, sang the song, *When Israel went out of Egypt*, as he turned his back upon the world in the assurance that it was possible to escape the Egypt which lay behind and possible to break through the mountainous difficulties which lay before him. The souls whom Dante represents as singing the same hymn when wafted from the world of failure to the purgatorial shores had the same glad confidence in the spiritual exodus. When we ourselves ask of the "contrary winds" which have assailed us the meaning of their existence, we too should be able to hear the response which is that of sea and river and mountain in the Psalm: "You ask why we do this or that; it is because we too are the servants of the Lord of all the earth: we come from the presence of Israel's covenant God. Even when we seem to hinder, we are still parts of the great redemptive process: we too belong to the choir which sings for ever: *Hallelujah; Praise ye the Lord!*"

PSALM CXV

Though united in the Gk. version with Psalm cxiv, this Psalm is not only independent but composite. The first 8 verses consist of a monotheistic protest in the vein of the Second Isaiah. Verses 9 to 16 form a liturgical hymn for the use of Priest and People, suitable as an appendix to most other psalms. The last two verses, 17 and 18, must be considered as a gloss.

A: YAHWEH AND IDOLS

- I. Not to us, Yahweh, not unto us,
But unto Thy Name give glory.
Why do the nations say:
'Where now is their God?'
- II. Our God is in heaven above;
Whatsoever He pleaseth He doeth.
Their idols are silver and gold,
Work of men's hands.
- III. Mouth have they and they speak not:
Eyes have they and they see not:
Ears have they and they hear not:
Nose have they and they smell not.
- IV. Hands have they and they feel not:
Feet have they and they walk not:
Like unto them are their makers,—
Everyone who in them doth trust.

Text: The words "Because of Thy love, because of Thy truth" are a gloss taken over from Ps. cxxxviii 2. In II 1 the "above" is taken from the Gk. It is needed for the measure. In IV 2 a glossator has added "they utter not with their throat," a repetition of III 1.

This part of the composite Psalm has sometimes been termed a "defy" song, as containing a challenge on the part of the faithful minority to the hostile majority. It was used by the early Christians in days of persecution as a defiance of the imperial command to burn incense to Caesar. It was used again, says Prothero, immediately after the battle of Agincourt when

the victorious English sang on bended knee the motto Henry IV had given to his warrior son. Shakespeare represents the victor as exclaiming:

O God, Thy arm was here;
And not to us, but to Thy arm alone
Ascribe we all.

It was used again when in 1510 Cardinal Ximenes led the Spaniards against the Moors at Oran, and when in 1663 John Sobieski checked the tide of Moslem invasion at Chocsin. In all of these cases men defied the power of an apparently overwhelming foe by exalting the power of God over all trust in human sufficiency.

Something of the same spirit enabled the Jews, returned from the Babylonian captivity, to meet the taunts of a hostile world confederate against them. Self-distrust was the underside of faith, and their own faithfulness only brought into stronger relief the greatness of the Lord in Whom they put their trust.

As to the grounds of this trust, there was for their own part no need of demonstration. To the heathen who taunted them continually with the fact that they worshipped an invisible king, asking in mockery, "Where is now your God?", they had the same answer as that which "Grandfather" makes to the doubters in *The King of the Dark Chamber*: "'Gap,' do you say? Why the whole country is all filled and crammed and packed with the King: and you call Him a 'gap.' Why, He has made every one of us a crowned king!"

If such answer had less convincing power for their enemies than for themselves, they had besides an *argumentum ad hominem* in pointing out the futility of idol worship, a futility which was sufficiently obvious. The contrast between the invisible God above, "Who doeth whatsoever He pleaseth," and the visible gods which were the handiwork themselves of needy men, which were, moreover, less than the men who prayed to them in that they have organs which fulfil not the functions of organs,

is described quite in the vein of those magnificent passages in the Second Isaiah. Whatever elements of reason might seem to lurk in idolatry are dissolved in ironic laughter. And, as a consequence, the futility of idol-worship reflects the futility of a life which is fortified by a lie.

We may easily appreciate the splendid courage with which the Jews of the Captivity epoch would fall back from the proved fallacy of idolatry to the fallacy of a power which was built upon mistaken confidence, and thence upon a more assured faith in Yahweh as the Maker of Heaven and Earth; nay, more, as the inspiration and consummation of their hope and their destiny. The mocking scepticism of the foe might safely be disregarded as they lifted up their eyes to the stars and knew the sure ecstasy of faith.

For ourselves, the revelation which the Jews kept in their subjective consciousness has become a matter of history. Yahweh, "Who doeth whatsoever He pleaseth," has manifested Himself in the Way of the Cross, a way visible enough to every son of man. Before that revelation even the idols which did not yield to the irony of Old Testament monotheism must eventually be for ever discredited. Thus the defiance of brute forms of evil, which is the negative side of faith, passes into that supreme confidence which makes every experience a fresh revelation and provides for every victory of faith its appropriate Hallel.

B: A LITURGICAL HYMN

- I. V. O House of Israel, trust ye in Yahweh!
R. Their help and their shield is He.
V. O House of Aaron, trust ye in Yahweh!
R. Their help and their shield is He.
V. O Fearers of Yahweh, trust ye in Yahweh!
R. Their help and their shield is He.
- II. Priest (*solo*)
May Yahweh remember and bless!
May He bless the House of Israel!

May He bless the House of Aaron!
 May He bless the Fearers of Yahweh,
 The small and the great!

III. V. May Yahweh add unto you,—
 R. Unto you and your children!

V. Blessed be ye of Yahweh,
 R. Maker of Heaven and Earth!

V. The Heavens appointed for Yahweh,
 R. And the Earth for the sons of men!

Text: In I 1 read "House of Israel," with the Gk. The verbs here are read as precativum instead of, as in the Gk., perfect. In III 5 read *samim* (appointed), not *shamayim* (heavens). In III 6 omit "He giveth" which makes the line too long.

At the close a glossator has added the trimeter tetrastich:

The dead cannot praise Yahweh,
 Nor those who go down to Silence;
 But we will praise Yah,
 Henceforth and for ever.

Little is needed by way of comment upon this beautiful liturgical form. One imagines it as sung by Priest and People in alternate strains. Or perhaps, as the appeal of the Priest, in the first strophe, is made to the whole congregation (*Israel*), to the Priests, and to the God-fearers (*Proselytes*), in sequence, the three-fold response, *Their Help and their Shield is He*, may have been rendered by each division in turn.

The hymn will have its special significance to the Christian through its use by Christ (Mark xiv. 26) with His disciples on the night before He suffered. What a wonderful benediction, bestowed prophetically upon all mankind, by Him Who is at once the great High Priest and the all-atoning Victim! When we think of the Christ, surrounded by the apostles of the New Dispensation, thus chanting the inauguration of a Kingdom which

is to be universal in Heaven and in Earth, we get new glimpses into the meaning of the Psalm. Seeing in Christ One about to die, and yet through death about to open the kingdom of life to men, we may even find significance in the final gloss:

The dead cannot praise Yahweh,
Nor those who go down to Silence;
But we will praise Yah,
Henceforth and for ever.

PSALM CXVI: THANKSGIVING AFTER DELIVERANCE

In the Gk. this Psalm is divided into two (numbered 114 and 115), but the two parts (vv. 1-8, 9-16) are manifestly sequent. Reconstructed, with the aid of several conjectural emendations, and the omission of some obvious glosses, the Psalm resolves itself into 8 four-lined strophes, each probably, with the exception of the last, ending in the refrain: "And on Yahweh's Name will I call."

- I. I love Yahweh, my Strength;
For He heareth the voice of entreaty;
For His ear to me He inclineth;
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.
- II. Cords of death encompassed me,
And the narrows of Sheol found me;
Yea, straitness and sorrow I found:
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.
- III. Ah me! O deliver my soul,
Yahweh, gracious and righteous!
Yahweh, guard of the simple!
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.
- IV. Return, my soul, to thy resting-place;
For Yahweh bountifully treateth thee;
For from death He hath rescued my soul;
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.

- V. I have trusted, although I declare it:
Greatly have I been afflicted:
I said, Every man is deceitful;
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.
- VI. What return shall I make unto Yahweh,
For all His bounty towards me?
I will lift up the cup of salvation:
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.
- VII. Ah me! For I am Thy servant,
Thy servant and son of Thy handmaid;
Thankofferings to Thee will I offer;
And on Yahweh's Name will I call.
- VIII. My vows unto Yahweh I pay,
In the presence of all His people,
In the courts of the House of Yahweh,
In the midst of thee, O Jerusalem.

Text: The true text of this Psalm is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct. The present version (following Briggs in the main) must be accepted with some scholarly caution, though doubtless representing the earlier form better than the text generally received. Peters speaks of some of the verses as being "mere notes for singers," while a German commentator describes the whole psalm as *gestopelter*. It is plainly influenced by other psalms, particularly by 18. The opening words, "I love" are evidently intended to have as their object the words of xviii. 2, "Yahweh, my strength."

In strophe I the alteration of a single letter gives us "Name" instead of "days." In III, after line 2, the gloss has been added, "Yea, our God is compassionate," and after line 4, "I was brought low and He saved me." In IV line 3 is expanded in the gloss, "Mine eyes from tears and my feet from falling: I will walk before Yahweh in the land of the living." In V 3 the language is softened by interpolation of the words, "in my alarm." In VII a pentameter in Maccabean temper has been inserted, "Precious in the eyes of Yahweh is the death of His saints." Other unimportant glosses in the last lines include, possibly, the

"In the midst of thee, O Jerusalem" (which may have superseded the regular refrain) and the final "Hallelujah."

Although we reject the division of the Psalm into two, as suggested by the Gk., it is easy to see that the thought of the poem centres in two separate experiences, one of affliction and one of deliverance.

In the first four strophes (verses 1 to 8) we have an intensely individual experience of suffering, such as has brought the psalmist into the solitariness and straitness of the shadow of death. All has been stripped from him, as from Ishtar when she descended into Sheol. All trust in man, among other things, has gone. The exclamation *Annāh*, twice repeated, is like a plaintive cry out of one of the old Babylonian liturgies, almost a wail. But one thing is more powerful than the "cords of death," namely, the tie which binds the soul to Yahweh. Hence the refrain: "On Yahweh's Name will I call." The Name is not a mere word, but a most potent spell, by which the greatest miracles are possible.

In the last four strophes the miracle has taken place. The deliverance has been achieved, and in gratitude the chalice of pain—its bitterness departed—is lifted up to be a chalice of eucharistic grace for all who come to partake thereof. Grief's solitude is exchanged for the large fellowship of those who find in sorrow rightly used the cure of sorrow for themselves and others.

It is easy to see how applicable this psalm was to the use of Jesus in the Upper Room. He too learned the solitariness of sorrow. About to go down into Gethsemane, He knew not only "the straitnesses of hell," but also the untrustworthiness of those who had been His friends. "What! Could ye not watch one hour?"—"I said, Every man is deceitful." Yet Christ was able to uplift the cup which His Father had given Him to drink, and to make it the chalice of salvation for all who would partake of it with Him. Through this Cup the way was made possible, as described in the 22d Psalm and in Isaiah 53, for that passing

through the narrows of death into the large felicity of immortal life. The eucharistic cup of the accepted Passion was to prove the cup of salvation to all believers.

So the Psalm belongs to our own experience of passion and deliverance. Life must inevitably make us familiar with "the cords of death" and the "narrows of Sheol." But in it all the refrain may ever hold us fast: "On Yahweh's Name will I call."

In the defence of Lucknow a famous figure was that of 'Quaker' Wallace, of the 93d regiment. Of him is told the story of how he entered that dreadful hell of destruction, the Secunderabagh, singing the Scotch metrical version of this very psalm:

I love the Lord, because my voice
And prayer He did hear.
I while I live will call on Him,
Who bowed to me His ear.
I'll of salvation take the cup,
On God's Name will I call;
I'll pay my vows now to the Lord
Before His people all.

As cheerfully as he and others went forward unto death, let us go forward into life, making a eucharist of our consecrated sorrows. Life has many excuses for the plaintive note which ever and anon creeps into the soul's hymnody from its reminiscences of the spiritual Babylon, but there is always an outlet from the narrowness, to which affliction sometimes tempts, when we lift up our sorrows as an oblation before God and for the service of God's people.

Then the most restricted and repressed of individual lives becomes a rallying point for fellowship, and he who is despised as one from whom men hide their faces has divided for him a portion with the strong. Yes, he too "sees the travail of his soul and is satisfied."

PSALM CXVII: A GENERAL DOXOLOGY

Praise Yahweh, all nations;
Laud Him, all peoples;
For mighty on us is His love,
Yea, Yahweh's truth is for ever.

Psalm 117 consists of but a single strophe, a trimeter tetrastich. Perhaps it is part of a longer psalm, or possibly was intended to be merely "a sacrificial praise-cry for the preceding liturgy" (Peters). It is eminently suitable for a gathering at Jerusalem out of many peoples and nations. In this it may well serve, like the Gloria in our present use of the Psalter, as a closing ascription of praise to Yahweh for all the revelation of His love and His faithfulness.

DOCUMENTS: *VITA SANCTÆ BRIGIDÆ VIRGINIS*

By W. F. WHITMAN, Nashotah House

The first leaf of the manuscript from which the Bollandists printed the "Life of St. Brigid" by Lawrence of Durham was missing, and therefore the "Life" in the *Acta Sanctorum* begins abruptly in the middle of a sentence. MS Laud Misc. 668 in the Bodleian contains the complete "Life" (f. 107b fol.), preceded by an introductory letter (f. 106b-107a). I here publish the letter and the part of the "Life" lacking in the *Acta Sanctorum*.

INCIPIT epistola Laurentii ad amicum suum Ethelredum

Ethelredo, dispensatori domus regiæ, amico suo, Laurentius Dunelmensis ecclesiæ filius, utinam tam idoneus quam voluntarius. Salutem.

Licet inexplicabili quodam laberintho negotii quidem mihi satis insoliti me nuper implicaverit et dignatio principalis et civilis amor, animum tamen ipse meum qui pæne totus vix sufficit causæ meæ, relaxivi tandem, sicut petieras, voluntati tuæ. Vitam enim sanctæ Brigidæ quam pater tuus et ipse quidem amicus meus mihi attulit semibarbaram, tibi et si non potui latinissimam, sane transmittito vel latinam. In qua licet eloquentiæ compositiones nequaquam appositæ, planitiem oratione reliquerint potiusquam adorationem, tamen et temporis brevitās et prolixitas operis, penuria quietis et abundantia sollicitudinis, scientiæ mediocritas et insolitæ materiæ magnitudo mihi difficultatem pepererunt. Factumque est ut animus meus ad efficiendum quod aggressus fuerat sui consideratione penitus deficeret, sed sufficeret utcumque contemplatione tui. Quid enim magnum efficeret immensus amor tui, si intra terminos constitisset facilitatis? Gratum vero præmium reporto superatæ difficultatis, si tibi munus impleisse videar

amicitiæ, etiam si non videar satis fecisse doctrinæ. Quod si præter te lector alter accedat, petitum esse velim ut si quid invenerit vel in virginis excellentia præstantius vel humiliter in mediocritate stili quod viribus suis discrepet, non statim obstrepat, sed recogitet multa posse fieri supra se, sicque forsitan non despiciet si quid factum aspicit infra se. Quid enim asserat vel incredulitatis vel admirationis Brigidam summis Dei cultoribus esse parem et Laurentium inter mediocres etiam oratores locum habere vel omnino nullum vel satis exiguum? Ex se nihil ipso potest muneris enim Dei est hoc quod agit, qui virtutem omnem habens et omnium artifex, sicut quibus ita et quantum et quando vult inspirat. Ipse vero si quid in litteris videor assecutus, studio magis hoc proprio et divinæ misericordiæ quam doctrinæ ascribendum est alienæ. Et quia nemo rhetor instituit quid sit proprium oratoris, qualiter apte, proprie, ornate præsertim in his quæ non vidit suæ cursum dirigit orationis, maioris plane difficultatis est quod audieris conscribere quam quod videris, et non secundum oculum tuum sed secundum vocem alterius moderari stilum tuum. Si tamen rem inspicere diligentius voluerit, inveniet fortassis aliquid quod sit voluptati legere, cultui legisse, usui meminisse. Neque vitio mihi vertet me sic aliqua prætermisisse, addidisse non pauca, pluraque permutasse, ut et idem sit et tamen diversum esse videatur. Simile quidem in quibusdam male sculptis et incoloratis imaginibus nuper factum vidi. Quam prudenter ab aliis artificibus illic præcisa superflua, quam competenter suppleta sunt hiantia, quam pulchre superinducti varii colores subiectæ materiæ, ut pristina remanente substantia, pristina forma, immo deformitas, nequaquam remaneret! Quorum peritiam etsi adæquare non valens, volens tamen prudentiam imitari, vitam sanctæ virginis non aliam sed aliter conscribere temptavi, usus in veteri materia stilo novo, et si rem inspicias, satis temperato. Quia enim nimietates inter se pares sunt, operam dedi ut vitium nimis abiecti carminis emendaturus et inculti verbis non insisterem nitidis nimium et ampullosis et insisterem magis auditæ veritati quam exquisitæ et elaboratæ venustati. Tu vero, amice

mihi carissime, cui etiam in regis curia litterarum familiaris esse solet, vitam huius beatæ virginis libenter suscipe, diligenter lege, gaudenter imitari stude, futurus sine dubio particeps gloriæ suæ, si nunc ad exemplum ipsius fueris diligens examinador vitæ suæ.

Incipit Vita Sanctæ Brigidæ Virginis.

Fructificante in diversis ubique terrarum rationibus illo grano frumenti quod cadens in terra mortuum fuit, quatenus secundum prophetæ vaticinium, *in loco ubi dicebatur eis, non populus meus vos, dicetur eis, filii Dei viventis*, tandem extremis etiam Europæ finibus lux fidei Christianæ resplenduit, cuius inter alias Hibernia regiones ardore satis et salubriter inflammata, multos protulit magnæ religionis viros et mulieres, et quæ abundaverat multis rerum copiis, abundare tandem cœperit hominibus bonis. Nam ut de Hibernia pauca dicamus qui de Hiberniensi virgine multa dicturi sumus, insula omnium post Britanniam esse maxima perhibetur. Quæ, sicut in historiis Anglorum Beda refert, ad occidentem Britannia sita est, sed sicut contra aquilonem ea brevior, ita in meridiem se trans illius fines plurimum protendens, usque contra Hispaniæ septentrionalia, quamvis magno æquore interiacente, pervenit. Sed latitudine sui status, et salubritate ac serenitate aerum multum Britannia præstat, ita ut raro ibi nix plus quam triduana remaneat. Nemo propter hiemem aut fena ibi secatur æstate, aut stabula fabricat iumentis. Nullum ibi reptile videri solet, nullus serpens vivere valet. Nam sæpe illo de Britannia allati serpentes, mox ut odore aeris illius attacti fuerunt intereunt, quin potius omnia pæne quæ de eadem insula sunt, contra venenum valent. Denique ut hoc præteream quod vir ille memoratus se vidisse memorat, quibusdam, a serpente percussis, rasa folia librorum qui de Hibernia fuerunt et ipsam rasuram talibus in potum propinatam totam protinus vim veneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumpsisse ac sedasse tumorem, quidam ex nostris bufoni baculum inde allatum superposuit, et ad contactum illius vermis interiit. Quod si temptavero singula

quæ similiter nostris sunt acta temporibus explicare præter solitum videbor fastidiosam prolixitatem magisquam compendiosam brevitatem affectare. Unde ad verba viri memorati revertamur, et secundum hoc quod ipse asserit immo secundum quod rei veritas probantibus ostendit brevi concludamus, divitem lactis et mellis insulam nec vinearum expertem, sed et cervorum caprearumque venatû insignem. Cumque tot et talibus ipsa rerum copiis ab antiquis referta fuerit temporibus, coruscante Christi gratia coruscare cœpit religione Christiana, multique fuerunt qui cœlibem in terris vitam aggressi, secundum carnem in carne vivere recusarent, illud cum apostolo dicentes, *Nostra conversatio in cœlis est*. Inter hæc autem præclara cœli luminaria Sancta Brigida fulgore virtutum insignis emicuit quæ prius electa quam nata, ante donata gratia quam vita, miraculis prius insignata quam meritis. Sic consequenti tempore vitam suam in omni genere virtutum instituit, ut virtutis sit illud omne quod vixit. Verum ut ad hæc latius enarranda melius postmodum meus sermo procedat, quibus hæc prodierit beata virgo parentibus primo paucis absolvat.

Qualibus Brigida parentibus sit genita et quid de ea quidam in spiritu prædixerit, scriptis itaque veterum innotuit memoriæ posterorum, virum unum vocabulo Dubtachum olim inhabitasse fines Hiberniæ. Qui de nobili Scotorum oriundus pro sapientia, strenuis actibus et bonis moribus reverentiam a minoribus, affectum ab æqualibus, gratiam ab omnibus promeruit, regi etiam Loginensium ob hæc acceptus et familiaris fuit. Uxorem vero sortitus est natalibus æque parem sed longe disparem moribus, cuius præter genus nihil umquam bonus laudavit. Multis enim et manifestis declarabat indiciis suæ menti magnam insidere superbiam, lingua facile prorumpebat in contentiones et convicia, et cum in aliis et aliis actibus suis esset immoderata, modus tamen erat in forma sua. Faciebatque quod rarum est, domina videlicet parum pulchra pulcherrimas nitebatur pedissequas. Et quidem nihil minus iuvenis viri novam nuptam quam pulchrior pronuba decet. Sed illa suæ voluntati postponens et honestatem et utili-

tatem inter alia quæ parum provide egit, iuenculam unam formæ singularis Broysech nomine suis assignavit obsequiis. Quæ cum omnia sibi iniuncta prudenter impleret, bene quidem agendo dominum suum in sui duxit admirationem. Cumque libenter eam attenderet bene operantem, latenter ei postmodum irrepsit ut libenter etiam attenderet formam eius satis præfulgentem. Procedente vero tempore, tandem fieri cœpit novus amator iste diuturnus admirator. Et quid plura? Conceptus amor in effectum perducitur, ubi enim locum oportunum invenerunt, rem secreti peregerunt. Cumque puellæ venter intumesceret et fama factum divulgaret, uxor Dubtachi tacta dolore cordis intrinsecus ipsum aggreditur. . . .

ARAMAIC AND THE SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

By J. F. SPRINGER, New York City

No graver question confronts Christians today than that which is known as the Synoptic Problem. The gravity of the situation is due in part to the fundamental character of the subject matter and in part to the fact that the derivation of Matthew from Mark is made the basic feature of any solution by a very formidable consensus of investigators, writers and teachers. This conclusion, the outcome of a century and a half of inquiry and discussion, would, apparently, require us to go further and deny that we have, for the history as presented in the Synoptic Gospels, the warrant that it has come down to us in the words of a known companion of the Savior. The correspondences between the First and Second Gospels are so great in respect to choice of incidents, in respect to mode and order in the presentation of details, and in respect to similarities, and even identities, of narrative language, that once we concede the derivative character of the Gospel of Matthew we can hardly maintain with confidence that an eye and ear witness would have been content to subordinate himself and his own knowledge to the extent required for the compilation of this document from Mark. The question as to whether we have or do not have, in the narrative accounts of the First Gospel, the testimony of Matthew the publican is by no means an academic matter. The practical attitude of those who concede that substantially the entire Synoptic history of the events of the Ministry is warranted to us by the words of no known eye and ear witness must eventually become profoundly different from that of those who make no such concession but maintain the traditional position. However, it is the truth that is wanted, and if the truth requires the concession, let it be made. But that is just the point. It would appear as if a period of one

hundred and fifty years ought certainly to be long enough to witness, in a general agreement at the close of that period, a clear recognition of the basic facts involved and a conclusive development of the logic required for the determination of the significance of those facts. I venture to claim that the great consensus is based neither upon an adequate ascertainment of the facts nor upon a sufficient inquiry into the logical situation.¹

¹ It is, perhaps, incumbent upon me to give immediate support to so far-reaching a claim. With respect to the inadequacy with which the facts have been ascertained, let me refer (1) to the multitude of published assertions that the order of events found in Mark is always supported by at least one of the remaining Synoptic Gospels. Nevertheless, I have been able to cite no less than nine Markan sequences, out of a total of, say, 82, which have support neither in Matthew nor in Luke. And, let me mention (2) the failure to recognize the broad fact that Mark is by no means a mere repetition of Matthaean import but that about 30 per cent. of its text consists of matter not contained in Matthew. That is, due attention has not been paid to the circumstance that, out of a total of about 11,000 words in the Second Gospel, some 3,300 have no representation in the First. Again, let me cite (3) the situation as to the facts which are supposed to warrant the argument that we must consider Matthew as a derivative of Mark rather than the reverse on the ground that many instances exist where regular Greek in the First Gospel is paralleled by irregular Greek in the Second. It is argued that Matthew is thus shown to be the derivative document because of the alleged principle that a secondary writer would not substitute irregular Greek for regular but would be quite likely to do the reverse. So far as I know, no one has ever published a considerable list of irregular Markan expressions paralleled by regular Matthaean ones, from which have been eliminated those where the parallelism is substantially defective and those whose irregularity can not be established. Nor does there appear to be any substantial recognition of instances where irregular Matthaean Greek is paralleled by regular Markan Greek. Nor does any investigation seem to have been carried out for the purpose of ascertaining whether there may not exist instances of irregular Greek in Luke which parallels regular Greek in Mark. The facts as to the presence in Matthew and Luke of irregular Greek paralleling regular Greek in Mark would be important as tending to show whether the principle is sound which asserts that a secondary writer would not substitute irregular expressions for regular. Let the foregoing stand as illustrations of the inadequacy with which the facts have been ascertained.

As to the logic underlying the consensus, let me call attention (a) to the circumstance that the century and a half of investigation does not seem to have developed any considerable suspicion that perhaps corroboration of order must have a very modified meaning when applied to three documents as-

In view of the fact that a discussion covering so extended a period of time has culminated in a very general consensus of opinion and that this discussion, nevertheless, cannot be said to have developed an unchallengeable body of facts and inferences in connection with such basic matter as to whether it is Matthew or Mark that is the dependent document, it is not irrelevant, I think, to suggest that adequate measures should now be taken lest further study continue to be unaccompanied by a proper scientific attitude upon the part of those prosecuting it.

I do not at this juncture propose to give an outline of what I conceive to be a right logical procedure. Those who may be interested will find in the serial cited in footnote 1, in which is set forth an examination of the basis on which rests the present consensus in favor of the dependence of Matthew upon Mark, a rather full elaboration of my views in this connection, in so far as opportunity is afforded in a destructive inquiry. What I do propose to do at the moment is to call attention to the fundamental character and consequent importance of the following question:

sumed to be interdependent. And yet, writers have found in the superior "corroboration" enjoyed by the order of Mark over the "corroboration" when either of the other Synoptic Gospels is set up as the most primitive an argument in favor of the priority of the Second Gospel. Perhaps I may also be permitted (*b*) to make reference to the apparent inability to perceive alternatives. Thus, the Markan order of events is set up as one capable of explaining the orders of Matthew and Luke, but no adequate consideration is given to alternative explanations. Then, in further exemplification of the apparent inability to give other possibilities the treatment to which they are logically entitled, I conclude (*c*) these illustrations of incorrect inference by pointing out that when it is proposed to prove by exclusion the priority of Mark over Matthew, upon the assumption that one of the two is derived from the other, we do not appear to have any real consideration of the possibility of deriving the Markan order from the Matthaean.

Those who wish to consider in detail the character of the "facts" and "logic" upon which is based the consensus as to the proposition that Matthew is a document derived from Mark may, if they choose, refer to my extended examination as set forth in the serial article entitled *The Synoptic Problem*, which began in the issue of *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1923 (p. 539).

If one or both of the first two Gospels are, in respect to the parallel matter, derivative documents, in what language or languages was the immediate source or sources of this material?

It is generally assumed that Greek was the source language. Thus, those who advocate the dependence of Matthew upon Mark in general understand that the parts of the First Gospel which are parallels of Markan matter were derived from a Greek Mark. That is, the language remained unchanged in the transfer of import from the parent document to the offspring. That the transition was from Greek to Greek is, in fact, a basic assumption in one of the principal arguments for the derivation of Matthew from Mark. That is to say, when writer after writer argues that the presence of unusual or irregular Greek expressions in Mark paralleling usual or regular Greek expressions in Matthew is evidence for this dependence of the First Gospel upon the Second, they are implying that one or the other of the two Gospels was, in its Greek form, a parent of the remaining Gospel in its Greek form. It is a notable illustration of the unscientific character of the investigation of the Synoptic Problem, as that investigation has hitherto been prosecuted, that apparently no adequate proof of this Greek to Greek proposition has ever been adduced. I am very well aware that there are multitudes of identities in language between the two Gospels and that these identities are by no means confined to discourse material. But this fact is no sufficient proof. Independent translations from a common Aramaic source would probably contain many identities. Apparently, it would be necessary to show, in order to complete the proof, that the number and character of these identities is such as cannot be accounted for by fortuitous coincidences.

At any rate, Prof. C. C. Torrey is, in effect, assuming that no real and sufficient proof exists. For, if I understand him aright, he is proposing to derive all four Gospels from the Aramaic.²

² C. C. Torrey, *The Harvard Theological Review*, Volume XVI (1923), article "The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John," p. 326.

If this proposition can be established just for the First Gospel, one result will be that advocates of a Matthew derived from Mark will be deprived of their linguistic argument based on good and bad Greek. If it can be established for the Second Gospel, then the present writer will be embarrassed in respect to evidence that he has assembled which favors the proposition that if Matthew and Mark are in the relation of parent and offspring then Matthew is parent and Mark offspring. That is to say, I am in possession of what appears to be pretty cogent evidence to the effect that if relationship be assumed as in some way subsisting between Matthew and Mark the Greek language alone is involved; and I have available for use, under the same assumption of relationship, other convincing evidence that, as between the two Gospels, Matthew is the primary and Mark the secondary document. The establishment of the claim that the first two Gospels are immediate derivatives from the Aramaic would on the one hand strike a body blow at the hypothesis of a Matthew dependent upon Mark and on the other sweep away my evidence for the reverse view when relationship is assumed.

However, I for my part am not especially alarmed. Not yet, at any rate. There has already been a good deal of inquiry into the possibility of showing that Aramaic lay behind the Greek of one or more of the Gospels. Amongst those who have in their writings occupied themselves with this matter are G. Dalman,³ J. Wellhausen,⁴ W. C. Allen,⁵ C. F. Burney,⁶ J. A. Montgomery.⁷ At the present juncture, Torrey tells us that, although Wellhausen has failed to show that Mark is a translation from the Aramaic, largely, it would appear, because of an inability to find

³ *The Words of Jesus* (1909), pp. 57 ff.

⁴ *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, 1. Aufl. (1905), S. 14 ff., 2. Aufl. (1911), S. 7 ff.

⁵ "The Aramaic Background of the Gospels," a section in (Oxford) *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (1911), pp. 288 ff. Also, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark* (1915), pp. vii ff. and 48 ff.

⁶ *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922).

⁷ *The Origin of the Gospel according to St. John* (1923), pp. 20 ff.

important instances of mistranslation, nevertheless such examples are, as I understand him, now held in possession. Pending the production of these instances, it may well be worth while to continue the discussion of a Semitism in Lk. 1. 39, which Torrey affirms and the present writer denies to be a case of mistranslation. The argument for mistranslation is substantially this. The expression in Lk. 1. 39 is claimed as one that an author composing in Greek would not write. Moreover, the only explanation remaining is that $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu$ is a mistranslation of the Semitic *m'dinah*. That is to say, the original writer used *m'dinah* to convey the sense *province* or *land*, but the author of Luke understood the meaning to be *city*.⁸

It may seem to some that no further answer is required than a satisfactory explanation of the expression as original Greek, and this answer I think I gave in my article in the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* for March, 1922. At the same time, an independent investigation of the argument for a Semitic source, one that concerns itself not with the Greek but with the proposed

⁸ This matter has been discussed in the following five articles:

1. *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, C. C. Torrey, vol. xv, 1909, pp. 259 ff.
2. "The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels," C. C. Torrey, a section in *Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy* (1912), pp. 290 ff.
3. "Critical Note: St. Luke 1. 64 and 39," J. F. Springer, *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, March, 1922, pp. 332 ff.
4. "Critical Note: *M'dinah* and *Polis*," J. F. Springer, *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*, March, 1923, pp. 324 ff.
5. "Medina and Polis, and Luke 1. 39," C. C. Torrey, *The Harvard Theological Review*, January, 1924, pp. 83 ff.

Nos. 1 and 2 maintain $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\nu\ \iota\omicron\omicron\delta\alpha$ to be a Semitism that requires a Semitic original. Nos. 3 and 4 deny this, No. 3 maintaining that this expression is quite compatible with original composition in Greek and No. 4 attacking Torrey's evidence. No. 5 continues to insist upon the necessity of assuming a Semitic original, but limits it to an Aramaic source; and in doing so, it bases the argument upon a changed presentation of the facts. In writing No. 5, Torrey appears to be unaware of the existence of No. 3, in which I explain that there is no necessity to be troubled over the Greek.

Semitic original, is well advanced⁹ and should be carried further in order to illustrate and emphasize the necessity of avoiding certain methods of investigation that are more or less in vogue. That is to say, the situation demands of Semitic scholars, or perhaps more particularly of Aramaic experts, a founding of their propositions upon a bedrock of unassailable facts and not merely a setting forth of plausible hypotheses resting upon a substratum of unknown solidity. It may be that the total of text in ancient Aramaic is too meagre and the precise significance of many words and forms of expression is too uncertain for the devotees who concern themselves with the study of this group of dialects to establish very many things in a truly scientific manner. However, this is a disability that cannot be accepted as an excuse why a fully developed proof is not presented. That the Synoptic Problem be rightly solved is a tremendously important matter. And if, because of the scarcity of available material, the results of the study of Aramaic are going to be insufficient, in respect to their number and in respect to the degree of certainty attaching to them, this situation is to be regarded as simply unfortunate. It must not be allowed to justify, for example, the placing of poor Aramaic evidence upon the same level as good Greek evidence.

Let me, at this juncture, protest against the effort to establish important linguistic facts by citations of the opinions and statements of this and that authority. The summoning of experts is fast falling into disrepute in legal circles. You can prove both sides by this method. I think that a similar disrepute ought, in important critical matters, also to attach to the introduction of expert opinion; and that, in the few cases where such opinion may properly be presented, the writer who offers it should justify his action and be satisfied with any defect in this class of evidence that may justly be attributed to it.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that, amongst Semitic

⁹ The details are to be found in articles Nos. 1, 2, 4 and 5, cited in the preceding foot-note.

scholars interested in the question of a possible Aramaic background to one or more of our Greek Gospels, there are signs of the recognition of the fact that the Greek text can not be proved a translation merely because at many points expressions may be viewed as in literal correspondence with good Aramaic. Something more cogent is required. If Greek expressions can be shown to be inexplicable when regarded as original Greek, but admit of a full explanation when assumed to be mistranslations of a proper Aramaic original, then we have an argument of some cogency. That there are indications of a discernment of the desirability, or even the necessity, of a development of the argument along this line may be seen in the fact that Torrey staked the whole case for the Infancy Section of Luke upon the Semitism in Lk. 1. 39, a Semitism which is regarded by him as a mistranslation: "This is absolutely certain proof that the first two chapters of Luke were originally written in a Semitic language, and it is the only proof which has thus far been rendered."¹⁰ And Torrey cites Burney as stating in connection with the Gospel of Mark: "What is needed to substantiate the theory of an Aramaic original is some cogent evidence of mistranslation; and this has not as yet been advanced."¹¹ After making this quotation, Torrey goes on to say: "It is true that Wellhausen failed to demonstrate the fact that the Second Gospel was translated from an Aramaic original; and in particular that he did not succeed in finding important examples of mistranslation. Such examples are to be had, however . . ."¹²

We learn then that there is a disposition to rely only on instances of mistranslation; and also that Torrey claims *εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα* as a case from the Lukan Infancy Section and inferentially states that he is in possession of examples from Mark. Apparently, the latter are not yet available for examination; but the instance from the Infancy Section is not only available but has been under discussion.

¹⁰ *Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XV (1909), p. 260.

¹¹ C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel* (1922), p. 19.

¹² *Harvard Theol. Rev.*, Vol. XVI (1923), p. 332.

In order to establish, in this instance from Lk. 1. 39, or in any similar case of suspected mistranslation, it is, apparently, necessary to prove both of the following propositions:

1. The Greek is not explicable as original Greek.
2. The sense necessarily attributable to the Greek is one which was in current use in the Aramaic of the time and the place which correspond to the period and the provenance of the assumed original.

I deny that the Semitism occurring in Lk. 1. 39 has been shown to be incompatible with original composition, and refer to my article in the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW* for March, 1922, where the Greek aspect is treated. I deny also that it has been shown that the Aramaic which presumably would have to be attributed to the translator recognized *city* as a current signification of *m'dinah*. I claim, in consequence of the foregoing, that there is no known reason why the assumed Lukan translator should have misunderstood his source. For the proper treatment of the Aramaic side, particularly from the new point of view presented by Torrey in *The Harvard Theological Review* for January, 1924, a separate article will be necessary.

NOTES, COMMENTS, AND PROBLEMS

By BURTON S. EASTON, General Theological Seminary

It would appear that Dr. L. P. Jacks is acting on somewhat eccentric advice in his choice of New Testament subjects for the *Hibbert Journal*. In last January's number he himself published an editorial lamenting that scholars were not taking seriously enough the most recent labors of Dr. Loisy, with their far-reaching conclusions. And now in the April number he promises us two future articles by a Swedish professor of chemistry, Dr. Strömholm, who has originated an entirely new theory as to the origin of Christianity, claiming that Christ lived much earlier than the time traditionally assigned.

Of course the *Hibbert Journal* is by its very nature bound to be wide hearted and hospitable. But, with so much that is important in serious New Testament research that is unfamiliar to the English-speaking world, is it wise to exclude this in favor of material that can have but the slightest claim to serious consideration? The Loisy editorial had the merit of calling forth a rejoinder from Dr. Vincent Taylor, which explained in unmistakable terms why Dr. Loisy is not wielding the influence that his past reputation would lead us to expect; but a discussion of this kind belongs in some other periodical.

We regret to have to record that the *Expositor* has ceased publication. Presumably the financial tension that affects all unendowed scientific journals was the chief fact in its demise but its general character was one that, after all, belongs to a past generation. It was intimately bound up for the greater part of its career with the personality of Sir William Robertson Nicoll and, like him, it reflected perfectly a type of thought, able

enough but representing something which is now disappearing. Not even the ability of Dr. James Moffatt could revive its original public, while if its character had been transformed it would no longer have been the *Expositor*. However, a successor, to be called the *Expositor's Yearbook*, is promised.

The Faculty of Theology of the University of Bâle announce the preparation of a complete edition of letters, etc., relating to the Reformer Oecolampadius.

In the *Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, January, 1925, Harnack reopened the discussion concerning the Muratorian Fragment by assigning it definitely to the Roman Church. Among the other articles that this called forth may be mentioned particularly one by Père Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique* for 1926 (pages 83-88). He accepts the Roman origin but believes that the Fragment was the work of Hippolytus as anti-pope.

The theological world is being enlivened by the vigorous controversy now being carried on between Dr. G. G. Coulton and Mr. G. K. Chesterton on the medieval dance. The point that seems to elude them both is that in Puritan days the theologians secured an authority over the people that the scholars of the Middle Ages claimed but were never able to enforce; scholastic theology and the popular medieval religion were not at all the same thing.

It is gratifying to note that the first edition of Canon Streeter's *The Four Gospels* is exhausted and that a new edition, with a new preface, has appeared.

Dr. Erich Fascher, who distinguished himself two years ago in his *Die formgeschichtliche Methode* has been appointed Dozent in New Testament at the University of Göttingen.

After a lapse of just about twenty years Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament* is completed by the publication of the installment dealing with the Apocalypse. This part of the *Handbuch* has had a somewhat chequered career. At first en-

trusted to the late Dr. Heitmüller (see below), its appearance was postponed from time to time, then encountered the delay of the war, and was finally given up by its assigned author. It was then transferred to Dr. Lohmeyer, who has finally completed it. In the meantime most of the *Handbuch* has reappeared in a second edition.

The death of Wilhelm Heitmüller robs the New Testament world of one of its most brilliant authors, who was fifty-seven years old and at the time of his death was occupying the chair in the University of Tübingen, after having held an assistantcy at Göttingen. He was best known by his *Im Namen Jesu* (1903) and by his contributions to Johannes Weiss' *Schriften*. Incidentally he is the fourth of the collaborators in this work who has died, the others being Wilhelm Bousset, Rudolph Knopf and Weiss himself.

Count Wolf von Baudissin, professor of Old Testament in the University of Berlin, was seventy-nine years old. His labors were chiefly in fields allied to the Old Testament and he was an especial authority in Adonis worship.

Wilhelm Rothstein, professor of Old Testament in Münster, was a prolific writer, although his works took chiefly the form of magazine articles and the smaller brochures. To the English-speaking world he is best known as the German translator of Driver's *Introduction*. He was seventy-three years old and had retired from active teaching.

Johannes Lepsius, of Potsdam, divided his interests between theology, to which he made various contributions, the stage and politics.

Max Nordau, who was in his eightieth year, is scarcely remembered by the present generation as the author of *Entartung* ("Degeneration"), which won him considerable notoriety some thirty or more years ago. Towards the end of his life his interests centered entirely in the Zionist movement and he died in Palestine.

Ernest George Hardy, principal of Jesus College, Oxford, since 1921, was born in 1852. He worked almost exclusively in the field of the classics.

Sir Sidney Lee's wide interests were chiefly literary, but his work as editor of the *Dictionary of National Biography* and his membership in the Commission on Public Records gave him a most important place among English historians.

REVIEWS

The Gospel According to St. Luke. A critical and exegetical Commentary.
By Burton Scott Easton. New York: Scribners, 1926, pp. xl + 367. \$3.50.

Great books, like hardwood, are of slow growth. This is especially true of commentaries. The late E. D. Burton's *Galatians* was the fruit of twenty-five years of reflection and research; Dr. Easton's *St. Luke* is the fruit of twenty. For a long while those who have known that the work was under way have shared an excusable impatience to see it in print, and a high expectation of its probable merits. It is much more than twenty years since the last standard English commentary on St. Luke was published. This was Plummer's volume in the "International Critical" series (1896). Meanwhile a number of important studies have appeared in England and America, chiefly Hawkins' indispensable *Horæ Synopticæ* (2d edition, Oxford, 1909), the *Oxford Synoptic Studies* (1911), Stanton's *Gospels as Historical Documents*, Vol. II (1909), Cadbury's *Style and Literary Method of Luke* (in the "Harvard Theological Studies," 1920), Perry's *Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative* (Chicago, 1920), and Streeter's great work on *The Four Gospels* (London and New York, 1925).

Foreign scholarship has not been idle, and several new works (together with new editions of older volumes) have appeared in both Germany and France since Plummer's *Commentary* was published. These are of course well known to the technical scholar and belong to his indispensable equipment. Close familiarity with the whole modern literature upon St. Luke, and upon the New Testament in general, is revealed on every page of the volume before us. It is more than a roster of names in support of one or another interpretation that we are given; the various renderings and interpretations that have been brought forward

have been carefully weighed and cogent reasons given for the author's preference. Not that the technicalities of shop-practice obtrude unduly in the finished work; the mechanics of research are more or less out of sight; but the reader knows that they are there, where they belong, and the book would not be what it is without them.

Of particular importance for the documentary analysis and textual criticism of St. Luke are the volumes by the late Bernhard Weiss, not only his commentary in the Meyer series (9th edition, 1901), but also his subsidiary studies, on *The Sources of the Gospel of Luke* (1907) and *The Sources of the Synoptic Tradition* (1908). None of these volumes has been translated into English, and their immense importance has scarcely been recognised by the majority of British and American scholars. Dr. Streeter, for example, though arriving at somewhat similar conclusions to those of Weiss, has curiously overlooked in *The Four Gospels* his contribution to the history and interpretation of the evangelic literature. Eventually, of course, work of such merit was bound to find its way into the English-speaking world; and it is one of the initial advantages enjoyed by the present commentary that full recognition is given the results of this patient, painstaking scholarship. That Dr. Easton favored Weiss' hypothesis of the existence of a third source in Luke, the document "L," in addition to "Q" and St. Mark, has been known since his study of its vocabulary and style appeared in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, in 1910-11. But it was not until the theory received the thoroughgoing test of application to the detailed exegesis of the Gospel, in the present volume, that its full force and significance could be clearly presented to English readers. Quite apart from the value of the work for reference, and for the exegesis of particular texts, the thoroughgoing and constructive investigation of the sources is a contribution to synoptic criticism of the very first rank. It is probable that from now on the document "L" will be recognized in English-speaking New Testament circles with as much confidence as "Q" has come

to enjoy. And it is improbable that any later investigation will substantially alter the definition of the general characteristics, style, and vocabulary of this document as set forth by Professor Easton.

The high expectations entertained before the book was published are amply satisfied. The work is and will long remain the standard English commentary on St. Luke. Partly, perhaps largely, this is due to the severe limitations the author set himself. He did not attempt to write a history of Early Christianity, nor a Life of Christ, but simply and solely a commentary upon one Gospel. Even the Book of Acts drops out of sight, save in places where Luke and Acts could not be considered separately. His aim has been (a) to establish the text written by the Evangelist; (b) to explain this text in the sense he meant it to bear; (c) to determine the source or sources he has used and the modifications he has introduced; (d) to ascertain the meaning of the narrative in these sources; (e) to investigate the original form of the words or events related. Thus limited, the field is large enough; and if it appear too exclusively literary an aim, the reasonable query arises, What else should a commentary provide? Moreover, how otherwise are we to approach the historical, biographical, theological, or ethical data of the New Testament than through a searching scrutiny of the documents at our disposal? "Questions that attempt to penetrate under the surface of the Gospel belong to the critic rather than the exegete and there is of course no limit to the possible extent of these questions." The definition of aim given on page ix of the Introduction is a model worthy of acceptance by all commentators:

In the main the exegetical and the critical portions of the work have been sharply separated; in the exposition the question is always, *What meaning did St. Luke expect his first readers to find in his Gospel?* [ital. ours]. He wrote to tell historic facts, no doubt, but his primary interest was in the edification which the narrative of those facts would produce. He presupposed no acquaintance with Palestinian conditions on the part of his readers and he knew that they would interpret much that he had to tell in terms of their own surroundings; above all, he knew that they would interpret much

of his story in terms of their own developed Christian theology,—and he was content that it should be so. And, in addition, he meant his Gospel to be interpreted on its own merits, not after comparison or harmonizing with other documents.

The “other documents” were not only the other gospels, some of which were probably not yet in existence, but also the sources Luke himself used. As already suggested, these were St. Mark, “Q,” “L,” and a remarkably small minimum of oral tradition—though the author leaves at one side 48 verses (found in 11 sections, scattered between Lk. 6:46 and 24:49) of “Unclassified Material.” The Markan sections are those usually recognized as such. Luke’s revision of Mark is carefully scrutinized. The corrections are free, in narrative, and consist in the improvement of Markan diction, grammar, and style; less free in the reproduction of our Lord’s sayings given by Mark. Of “Q,” the author, like St. Luke before him, has a very high estimate. Considering the size of “L” (48 sections), the extent of material assigned to “Q” (50 sections) may be thought remarkable. It is viewed as a unitary document—not fragmentary, as Burkitt, Burton, and others have held. The order given “Q” in St. Luke is to be preferred to that in St. Matthew: the wording, for which St. Matthew is often preferred (*e.g.*, by Harnack), is also most probably to be found in Luke. His revision of “Q,” like his revision of Mark, halted at the words of the Lord; and since “Q” is very largely composed of sayings of Christ, the result is that “often only the difference between the Aramaic original and a close Greek translation separates us in Q from the actual words of Christ.”

The document “L” is strongly Semitic in style, being influenced by the Septuagint, intensely Judaistic in outlook though bitter in its opposition to Jewish unbelievers, Judean in atmosphere, and eschatological in its view of the future. It contains a Passion Narrative (which several authors have attempted to establish as a separate Lukan document), and in general “stands perhaps half way between the best Markan tradition and the

versions in the Fourth Gospel." But in the transmission of Christ's sayings the case is decidedly better, and in many respects L's contributions (particularly as regards parables) are inestimable. It will surprise some readers to learn that the beauty of St. Luke's narrative style (Renan called this Gospel "the most beautiful book in the world") is largely attributable to the author, or the translator, of this source; and that "Luke's revisions often mar L's perfect simplicity." The contacts between "L" and the Fourth Gospel (listed on p. xxix) are explained as due to "some Jerusalem tradition that has reappeared in both Luke and John, John in some cases having a more primitive form (*e.g.*, 5:1-11)."

Dr. Streeter's hypothesis that "Q" and "L" were combined into a "Proto-Luke," and that to this were later added the sections from Mark and the source of Luke 1-2, is not dealt with directly. However, Dr. Easton's view of such a conjecture may be gathered from his analysis of "L" (which includes the Infancy Narratives), and from the remark that although a theory of the prior combination of "Q" and "L" would make the explanation of some passages easier, it would increase very considerably the difficulty of explaining others. "The results of the present commentary indicate that it is simplest to treat Q and L as separate documents in Luke's hands. But certainty on such a point is not attainable: Luke and Matthew appear to have used the same text of Mark, but a document such as Q might be more susceptible of modification." (See also his extended critique of Streeter in this Review, VIII. 3, Jan. 1926, pp. 256-263.)

As to the date and place of composition little is said. The Gospel "was written by a Gentile for Gentiles, but was compiled from Jewish sources, which the Evangelist has followed conscientiously. And none of these sources need have been written later than 65 A.D.—This represents about the extent of the information that can be compiled from the Gospel itself." The critical problem as a whole can be considered only in con-

nection with that of the Book of Acts, and therefore lies outside the scope of the present work.

Examples of the author's solutions of the graver problems of the Gospel will at once be sought by technical theologians, and for them no review will suffice. It may be noted however that no example of special pleading or of "theological prejudice" has yet come to our attention. The Virgin Birth Narrative is handled with admirable skill, clearness, and sure grasp of the problems, both literary and exegetical. The Davidic descent of Christ through Joseph is not questioned; but it is also noted that "with Jews a legal genealogy was not always physically exact," and that since "Joseph became Mary's husband before the Nativity, he became Christ's legal father also." Though the mythological and other explanations are cited, and rejected (on literary grounds), it is made clear that the discussion "deals only with the self-consistency of the narrative. The facts related lie beyond historical criticism."

Another difficult passage—at least on historical grounds—is the Temptation Narrative. And here the author's conclusion must be quoted in full:

The perfect naturalness of the narrative is inimitable: exaltation on discovery of the Messianic vocation, retreat into solitude without a thought of care for the body, waning of the ecstasy, and resultant hunger and depression, which gave a fit moment for the intrusion of diabolic suggestion. And the temptations exactly summarize the Ministry. They exhibit the refusal to take thought for self, or to accede to demands for a sign, or to seek popularity through lowering the moral standard. The hypothesis of a secondary origin for these verses seems excluded. It would necessitate an editor who could abstract these principles from the mass of detailed events, recognize them as temptations, reclothe them in the concrete form of this section, give the whole an accurate psychological background, and (by no means least difficult) abstain from explanatory moralizing. Such a task was beyond the powers of any one in the apostolic or post-apostolic age.

The story was probably told by Christ, in conjunction with that of the baptismal experience, in the last part of the Ministry.

Still another *crux interpretum* is the omission of the cup in the narrative of the Last Supper. This narrative is found in the spe-

cial source "L," and the omission is to be explained from liturgical practice.

"The breaking of bread" in the Palestinian church was celebrated with extreme frequency or even daily (Acts 2:46), by small house-groups. Under such circumstances wine must often have been unobtainable, for it was so expensive that the Mishnah (*Pes.*, x. 1) describes the sacrifice a poor man might have to make to obtain the small quantity needed for the Passover. A custom of eucharists without wine would have been inevitable under such circumstances, a custom that would be certain to lead to the belief that the original eucharist was wineless. So v. 18 may even be meant as a protest against what was thought a luxurious custom; such an attitude would be quite in keeping with the character of L, with which Lk. no doubt sympathized.

The Gospel According to St. Luke might well be the crowning fruit of a lifetime of unwearied research, reflection, and careful study. That it comes at the end of the first two decades of a scholar's career is an achievement whose brilliance reflects credit upon theological scholarship in the American Church and it is a most assuring augury of the future. FREDERICK C. GRANT

The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries. By T. M. Lindsay. New York: Doran, 1925, pp. xxii + 398. \$4.00.

Whenever any student turns to the study of primitive Christianity and, having made some investigations, interprets it in the light of later Christendom, he cannot but be profoundly struck by the developments and changes that the centuries have brought. There can be no such thing, in the lapse of years, as a literal and mechanical perpetuation of either beliefs or practices, save where such have become moribund or dead and can consequently be preserved unaltered. An altogether specious resemblance to continuity and unaltered identity may be the effect of an artificial reconstruction, as in the case of twentieth century antiques or modern Elizabethan houses. Change and development there must be if there be pulsing vital life.

As the student contemplates the bare record of facts and their story of alteration and change, he perforce casts an appraising eye over the data. His very interpretation of the facts is, in all

probability, an estimate of appraisal: this development he depreciates; that, he praises. In view of the more pressing facts of modern history, he may variously estimate the progress of events. To one student the existence of a belief or custom in primitive Christendom is sufficient warrant for its revival. Existence and currency are normative justification for rejuvenation! So the Mormons revived Baptism for the Dead, the "Holy Rollers" reinstituted "speaking with tongues" in the sense which certain early manifestations seem to warrant. To another student the one-time prevalence of a usage or custom, later disused or radically transformed, furnishes a valid criterion for exactly the opposite procedure; if, after trial, a belief, conviction, practice, custom or usage was given up or substantially changed, what appears to him significant is not the first but the second fact. He might say: "If the corporate mind of Christendom surrendered such-and-such a custom, that is the best reason for trusting to the wisdom of the course of *not* reviving it." It depends entirely on the standpoint of the student, and upon the estimate he places on the Church's authority and validity. Even where one cannot check up all the reasons or reconstruct to his own satisfaction all salient factors bearing on the case, men of the second type of mind are willing to say: "Even if I do not know why, there must have been adequate reasons for the way the Church acted, and I am inclined to trust the corporate experience of Early Christianity."

Perhaps the most illuminating part of this book is the presentation with utter frankness and lucidity of the author's own point of view. He professes that "three assumptions or postulates may be found underlying these lectures." One relates to the "Visible Catholic Church of Christ, consisting of all those . . . who visibly worship the same God and Father, profess their faith in the same Saviour, and are taught by the same Holy Spirit . . . but" . . . catholicity may not necessarily "find visible expression in a uniformity of organization, of ritual of worship, or even of formulated creed" (p. viii). "My second

postulate concerns the ministry. There is and must be a valid ministry of some sort in the churches which are branches of this one Visible Catholic Church of Christ; but I do not think that the fact that the Church possesses an authority which is a direct gift from God necessarily means that the authority must exist in a class or caste of superior office-bearers endowed with a grace and therefore with a power 'specific, exclusive, and efficient,' and that it *cannot* be delegated to the ministry by the Christian people" (p. ix). "My third postulate belongs to an entirely different sphere from the two already mentioned. . . . It is that analogies in organization illustrative of the life of the primitive Christian communities can be more easily and more safely found on the mission fields of our common Christianity than among the details of the organized life of the long established Churches of Christian Europe" (pp. x-xi).

The rest of the book is commentary, explanation, illustration, and justification for these "postulates." Dr. Lindsay begins with the New Testament conception of the Church, studies "a Christian Church in Apostolic Times," the prophetic ministry and the creation by the Church of its regular ministry, and the "change" of ministry in the second and third centuries. Lecture VII is entitled "Ministry changing to Priesthood"; and the last, "The Roman State Religion and its Effects on the Organization of the Church." There is much sturdy militance against the theory of "Apostolic Succession" (in the Episcopate); cf. *passim*, especially pp. ix-x; p. 19, note 1; p. 25, n. 1; pp. 157-166; 197, n. 4; 198; etc. He is quite as ardent (even in his nomenclature for primitive institutions!) for the "presbyterian" or "conciliar system of Church government." For example, à propos of St. Ignatius' Epistles and the Sources of the *Apostolic Canons* he writes: "While the resemblance to modern episcopacy is but small, there is a very great amount of resemblance to that form of ecclesiastical organization which re-emerged at the Reformation and which is commonly called the presbyterian, though it might be more appropriately named the conciliar system of

Church government" (p. 198). The third century Church as to its "organization had a much greater resemblance to what is commonly called the Presbyterian, and ought properly to be called the Conciliar, system of Church Government" (p. 259). "The modern episcopal system, apart from the retention of the name 'bishop,' has fewest points of resemblance to what we find in the ancient ecclesiastical manuals we have been studying, but the germs of the medieval and modern episcopacy are there" (p. 261). It was primarily St. Cyprian to whom was due the subversive change from "Elder" (presbyter) to priest, according to Dr. Lindsay, and St. Irenæus' evidence bears rather upon an ideal condition of things the saint would have wished to bring about than upon any real situation of his day.

Dr. Lindsay seems not to have used for this work any considerable amount of essays, monographs, or studies of this century. There is much of genuine value in the tempered calm of the lectures, in the knowledge of sources and older studies on them which they display, and in the portrayal of the author's predilections and convictions. With such works as these stanch Presbyterian lectures in hand, the Anglican scholar can set himself to the much needed task of redefining our own position in the light of more recent knowledge. We badly need a clear definition of the Church and a thorough statement on the Ministry which will be sound, scholarly, and accurate to the facts in the case, historically expounded. Dr. Lindsay has done yeoman service for his own position. Who is there among us who will do the like for Anglicanism?

FRANK GAVIN

The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy. By W. O. E. Oesterley. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925, pp. 243. \$4.75.

If Judaism was the cradle of Christianity, then it could hardly fail that Christianity should begin to learn to talk in the Synagogue. It was natural that the earliest Christians, being Jews who were not abandoning their old religion in conceiving the

nation's hope to have arrived at last in a guise most unforeseen, should continue using, to express a new life, the language of worship and the ritual forms in which they had grown up, although employing them now with a new fervor and a new meaning.

This antecedent probability is confirmed by many implications furnished in the New Testament, and has been generally allowed among liturgical students, with varying degrees of inclusiveness, since the time of Vitranga, two hundred years ago and more, who found in the Synagogue not only Christian canons and ritual but even the very furniture of the chancel. While the large proposition cannot be gainsaid, yet it is a difficult and a delicate task to disentangle precisely from Christian customs the elements which were derived from Jewish precedents, and to trace accurately the influences which sprang from the Jewish Liturgy, because the Church and the Synagogue were soon separated, each to develop along its own lines, the later growth in each submerging the evidence of the vital first century.

This difficult and delicate task is undertaken by the book before us. Its first step is determination of the Jewish Liturgy as it existed at the beginning of the Christian era. Inferential as this must largely be, it seems clear that a primary element in the Synagogue service was the reading of Scripture, followed by an explanation or "sermon." Then was repeated the Jewish creed or confession of faith, the *Shema*: "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah our God is one Jehovah." After this creed came the prayers or "Benedictions," which presented praise and thanksgiving as characteristic notes, although they also included confession of sins and petitions for forgiveness, along with intercessions and congregational responses, the whole ending with a doxology.

The resemblance between this Synagogue service and our own Morning and Evening Prayer is sufficiently striking; but the first formal following of Synagogue precedents appears in the preliminary service of the Eucharist, the *Missa Catechumenorum* of ancient days, and the "Ante-Communion Service" of our

own times. Justin Martyr gives us the earliest definite evidence of this, and after him the references become frequent. Another prominent feature of the Eucharist borrowed from the Synagogue is the *Sanctus*, the earliest hymn of the Church, which is derived straight from the Synagogue "Benedictions."

In these particular conclusions there is little new; but the value of their consideration in this book lies in the carefulness and thoroughness with which the sources are examined, and the nice judgment with which the extent of the Jewish influence in Christian worship is estimated. For students desiring to go below the surface of the subject, the book is indispensable.

But the chapters of unusual interest to such a student will be two of the Special Studies in the second division of the work. These two chapters are entitled "Antecedents of the Eucharist" and "The Origin of the Euclesis."

In tracing the antecedents of the Eucharist, the author first reminds us that the Lord's Supper was instituted at the close of a meal, and that this meal was not, and could not have been, the Passover feast. This point is based not only upon the evidence of the Fourth Gospel, but also upon inherent contradictions in the Synoptic account itself. Of course the problem is familiar enough; the peculiar value of the statement of the case here is in the clearness with which its antagonisms are presented.

So much having been premised, that the Last Supper was not the Passover feast, the question at once arises, What was the meal which our Lord crowned with a sacrament? Had it any special character or significance in itself to lead to this new use and honor of it? The Passover meal had such significance, a symbolism so appropriate that it readily attached itself to the Last Supper in the minds of Christians, producing the mistaken identification in the Synoptics, and holding fast to it down to the present time.

The author's theory is that the Last Supper was the social meal usually held late on Friday afternoons to usher in the Sabbath. This meal concluded with the blessing and distribution

of wine and bread, a ceremony with intimate associations and meanings, called the "sanctification of the day." But in this particular year the Sabbath coincided with the Passover. The weekly social meal, therefore, could not take place at the ordinary time, because the Passover feast on Friday evening superseded it, and it was held a day early, on Thursday afternoon toward sunset, inaugurating thus the Day of Preparation of the Passover. It was on this Preparation day that the Passover lambs were sacrificed, and it took a sacred color from that fact.

If this suggestion holds good, then we know, approximately, from the Jewish sources, the very words which our Lord uttered when he gave thanks over the wine and the bread. Over the cup he said: *Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, Eternal King, who createst the fruit of the vine.* And over the bread he said: *Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who bringest forth bread from the earth.*

The Epiclesis, or Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the Consecration Prayer of the Eucharist, seems also to have its origin in a Jewish conception familiar to the Synagogue.

The perfect form of the Epiclesis in the Liturgy of the Eastern Church presents a prayer for the descent of the Holy Spirit, first, upon the worshipers for their sanctification; and, second, upon the elements of bread and wine for their transformation into the Body and Blood of Christ. This is the fully developed form of the fifth century; but when the prayer is traced back through the literary remains of the earlier centuries, the idea of the transformation of the bread and wine becomes more and more indefinite, until finally mention of the elements disappears altogether, while the invocation of the Holy Spirit, that it may rest upon the worshipers, continues constant, although sometimes it is the Trinity that is addressed, and sometimes it is the Word. So that the primitive prayer appears to have been specifically a prayer for the Presence of God among His worshipping people.

But this takes us back close to the time when Christianity was emerging from Judaism; and Jewish-Christians were very fa-

miliar with the conception of the Presence of God under the name of the *Shekhinah*, a name which included not only the visible manifestation or "glory" of God, but also His invisible "indwelling" among those worshipping Him. Said one of the Rabbis in the Mishnah, "When two sit together and are occupied with the words of the Law, there is the *Shekhinah* among them." Could a Jewish-Christian with such a spiritual notion already in his mind fail to blend with it the saying of his Lord: "Where two or three are gathered together, there am I in the midst of them"?

So our author finds in this developed conception of the *Shekhinah* as the Divine Presence invoked in worship the essence of the Epiclesis. It was the natural prayer, the inevitable prayer, of the first Jewish-Christians, assembled to celebrate their most sacred rite of worship, that the Divine Spirit, the *Shekhinah*, the Word, might descend upon them, to be present with them and to sanctify them for participation in their most holy sacrament.

The argument is very convincingly worked out with quotations and references to sources, and concludes this most interesting and valuable book on the traces of Jewish influence in the early forms of Christian worship.

O. E. WATSON

The Doctrine of Grace up to the End of the Pelagian Controversy, Historically and Dogmatically Considered. By Ernest Jauncey. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. x + 299. 14 s.

This work is to be completed by a second volume, carrying the treatment down to modern times. The present volume ends *between* the Pelagian and semi-Pelagian controversies. Perhaps the requirements of reasonably uniform-sized volumes made this necessary; but, in view of the postponement of the second volume, it is unfortunate for the reader. It breaks up what is really one controversy, and also interrupts the treatment of St. Augustine's doctrine of grace.

The completed work is likely to have very great value, and no equally full history of the doctrine of grace is available for

Anglican students. If the author succeeds in giving a really clear and coherent account of the controversies on the subject in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Calvinistic-Arminian and those in the Roman Communion—he will have done a much needed service for the Church.

Mr. Jauncey writes from the Anglo-Catholic point of view, and takes great pains to be just in his treatment of each writer, whether orthodox or heretical. In treating of St. Augustine's views, he is alive to the fact that "some of the more extreme Augustinian views have never received the approval of the whole Catholic Church." As his treatment of that doctor's position is not yet completed, it is not possible to give a final estimate of his success in certain details. But I think he shows a tendency to minimize that writer's failure to do justice to the truth of human freedom and responsibility. St. Augustine does indeed assert human freedom in terms, and with some argument in its favour. But, as Dr. Mozley has made clear in his *Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*, the Augustinian theory of absolute predestination and irresistible grace *precludes* real freedom of the predestined. And this is not remedied by St. Augustine's argument that grace does not, since it works from within, destroy the spontaneousness of the man's acts of moral choice. The point is that, if grace is irresistible, there is no alternative left to the will. It may act spontaneously, but the direction of its spontaneous choice is divinely pre-determined; and the creature is as truly compelled as though the form of compulsion were external pressure on the willer's consciousness.

Mr. Jauncey also has taken no note as yet of the error of St. Augustine in making original sin include transmitted "guilt" in the literal sense of that word, and a change for the worse in human nature *itself* by Adam's sin. These elements of Augustinianism illustrate the fact that even the greatest champion of orthodoxy—and of course St. Augustine was that, and saved the Church from Pelagian naturalism—may be led by his zeal into one-sided extremes.

But I do not wish to end on a critical note, and possibly Mr. Jauncey will satisfactorily clear up these points in his other volume. With the further remark that the writer is sometimes too absorbed in details to deal sufficiently with the constructive movements of Christian thought, I wish to express my thankfulness that so full and sound a treatment of this complex and vital subject is at last in process of production. It is really a great work, and I earnestly hope that the second volume will soon appear.

F. J. HALL

The Doctrine of Intention. By R. Ll. Langford-James. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1924, pp. viii + 86. 3 s. 6 d.

Dr. Langford-James in the present work is travelling over ground little traversed by Anglican writers. The writing done by Anglicans has been almost entirely concerned with intention as applied to Orders; the present author studies the subject in its wider aspects as connected with the sacraments in general. There is a condensed, but sufficient, statement of the position of the two chief schools: that which we might call official in the Roman Church, asserting the need of an interior intention on the part of the minister; and the other maintaining that the exterior acts and words of the minister give sufficient evidence of his intention. The latter view, that of the author, is most concisely expressed in the words of Hooker, "where the contrary is not manifest, we may presume that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God." This view was that of Catharinus and the value of the present work is enhanced by the printing in the last eight pages of the very rare treatise in which his theory was set forth. The work of Salmeron, however, as being "clearer and better arranged," is taken as the basis of the study which Dr. Langford-James makes. The opinion expressed by these theologians, though not the popular one, has never been formally condemned by the Roman Church. Cardinal Bellarmine who gave the classical expression to the opposed position seems to depart from the teaching of

Catharinus and his followers more in word than in thought; for he is quoted (p. 71) as saying, "Since it is the easiest thing in the world to have an intention, there is no reason for doubting whether the minister has the intention, unless he shows the contrary by some exterior sign." The work is one which should have a wide distribution as it is most helpful in expressing concisely the possible opinions which may be held on a subject of which most of us know little and concerning which it has not been easy to secure information. At the foot of p. 17 there is a slip of the writer's mind which should be corrected in later editions, Rufinus being named Bishop of Alexandria instead of Alexander.

F. H. HALLOCK

Problems of Faith and Worship. With an Int. by Charles Lewis Slattery. New York: Macmillan, 1926, pp. 313.

This is a record of the Church Congress of 1925 held in St. Louis. The subjects treated are: Heresy: What is it and what shall we do with it?, The United States in World Relations, The Place of Miracles in Religion, The Holy Communion, The Value of the Church to Religious Living.

The papers are of course of various degrees of excellence, and reflect various points of view, but all of them are marked by a laudable spirit of tolerance. Perhaps the two outstanding contributions to the volume are the paper on "Heresy" by Frederic C. Morehouse, Editor of the *Living Church*, and the paper on "The Place of Miracles in Religion" by Dean Grant of Bexley Hall, Editor of the *ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL REVIEW*.

"Heresy" according to Mr. Morehouse "is the equivalent within the Church of treason within the State."

Both are psychological before they become overt acts and both may exist for long periods without expressing themselves in overt acts. As the nation negatively tolerates a certain amount of constructive treason within its limits, on the principle that more harm would accrue from attempting to root it out than from ignoring it, so the Church does the same with heresy. . . . Yet the fact remains that for a priest of the Church, after he has deliberately entered upon the teaching ministry and taken upon himself the ordi-

nation vows, as deliberately to assail the doctrine he has been commissioned to teach, is a dishonorable act. We may not mince words in passing judgment. His honor is directly involved.

Dean Grant's paper is what one might expect, a careful, scholarly, modern treatment of a difficult subject. He maintains that "there is no 'supernatural' in the sense that something enters *ab extra* or from above, from some region *outside* the natural order; whatever 'supernatural' exists must be at least latent within the present cosmos. There is no 'other world,' save in a symbolic or picturesque way of speaking. . . . If therefore we are to have a satisfactory definition of miracles, and one that will provide useful terms for our description of the place of miracles in religion today, it must be sought in connection with this new yet ancient and inescapable conception of the universe—of the universe as one, a unity; as real, living, psycho-physical; somehow made up of matter, energy, life, intelligence, in an ascending scale, and in no way separable into two—or any number of—ordinarily unrelated planes or spheres of existence."

Dr. Grant believes that "religious thought cannot longer postpone a new definition of the miraculous" and offers such a definition: "A miracle is an unusual, unexplained, or inexplicable occurrence which awakens within us a realization of the divine power, wisdom, or beneficence." He regards the place of miracles in religion as "witnesses to the presence and purpose of God—touches of the unseen world which is nevertheless all about us and perfectly real though invisible; not proofs, primarily, or portents, or thaumaturgic evidences of supernatural authority, but signs, sacraments, *testimonia* of the Holy Spirit to the reality of that spiritual universe of which the system of external nature is only the moving shadow, the flowing train, the outward garment of invisible Deity."

Part IV of the book which deals with "The Holy Communion" includes four divisions: Proposed changes in the office, extra-rubrical and non-rubrical practices, reservation, and the use of the chalice. Special interest centers about the treatment

of Reservation by Fr. Stoskopf of the Church of the Ascension, Chicago, and Bishop Thurston of Oklahoma. Fr. Stoskopf is candidly a scholastic in his approach and genuinely Catholic; Bishop Thurston is equally candid in his Zwinglianism and genuinely Protestant. To Father Stoskopf "adoration necessarily follows from reservation"; while Bishop Thurston opines that "in the celebration of the Holy Communion our Lord is not presented to us so much as the *Object* of our worship, as our *Leader* in the Faith" (*italics his own*).

The record of the Congress proceedings will furnish instructive—and amusing—reading to Churchmen, and in the main will give great encouragement to those who watch with joy the gradual triumph of the Catholic faith and practice in the Church.

GEO. CRAIG STEWART

The Approach to Christianity. By E. G. Selwin. New York: Longmans, 1925, pp. xv + 286. \$3.75.

This book calls for close reading, and, as most books, it will repay such study. The treatment of the details of the argument could in some cases be more clearly developed, but the general argument is clear.

The book opens with the argument from experience. Religion is a life and it is to be known by experience of its power. There is a demand for a spiritual religion. Can the Church of today meet that demand? In the last century the emphasis was on natural progress. Men had faith in the natural perfectibility of humanity, and they resorted to law to save men. So we had reforms by law. Man suffered from ignorance. Show him the better way, and he will walk in it. But the great war showed that there were depths of degradation which required some supernatural power to eradicate.

The author asks what are the grounds of belief. In most cases our opinions are inherited. They are based on the opinions of those who know. But the real ground is the experience of the Supernatural. The men of the Bible had that experience. They

were conscious that God spoke to them and through them. They had no doubt of the source of their knowledge. The New Testament is superior to the Old Testament, but even it is not complete. The Spirit led the Church in the formulation of its doctrines, as for example in the Nicene Creed.

The author stresses the fact of the historic character of the revelation of the Bible. The writers saw God in the history of the nation. History is revelation.

What is the position of Christ in this progressive revelation? He is the Eternal Son and so God and Man. The critical lives of Christ, of which we have a number, are not satisfactory, for they do not recognize that he is Divine, the Eternal Son. Nor is the distinction which is often made between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith tenable, for he was both for St. Paul and St. John.

There is an interesting discussion of St. Paul's "complex." The scene at the death of St. Stephen led him to doubt his Judaic position. That was his anti-Judaic complex. After he became a Christian he occasionally had doubts. He might possibly be mistaken, and Jesus was not the Messiah. This was his anti-Christian complex, and explains the "thorn in the flesh," which was not epilepsy. It is interesting to know that that old question has finally been settled!

On the question of Eschatology the author does not agree with Schweitzer. He says that men think in succession, but for God all events are present at once—"the eternal now." Jesus then saw the whole course of history and he did not expect a speedy return.

There is a full discussion of the doctrine of the Atonement. The author treats the three words used in the Prayer of Consecration—Sacrifice, Oblation, and Satisfaction. Justice requires that guilt shall be punished, but not in every case in the person of the offender. There is vicarious suffering. Others suffer for the guilt of the offender.

The Resurrection and Ascension are historic facts; but, the

author says, the language is symbolical. He seems to mean that Heaven is a state of glory and that Christ ascended into Heaven by passing into a state of glory in which he is omnipresent. He quotes Jerome as saying that the view that the Lord ascended to the sky is "nonsense."

Query: What did the disciples mean when they reported the Ascension? Did they think that he rose above the sky and did they locate Heaven above the sky? Did they think that they were using symbolical language meaning only that Jesus was now omnipresent?

There is also a discussion of the supernatural basis of the Christian character. The main idea is that the Christian character is not built on the basis of nature, but on the work of the Spirit which is the ever present Christ. It is supernatural, and so is called the "new creation."

The book closes with a statement of the position of the Anglican Church. It keeps the proper proportion between tradition, experience, and reason. The Eastern Church relies on formulæ. The Roman Church on the infallibility of the occupant of the See of St. Peter. The Anglican Church respects tradition, experience and reason.

DAVID F. DAVIES

Christianity and World-Problems. By W. E. Orchard. New York: Doran, 1925, pp. x + 211. \$1.75.

Dr. Orchard is a Protestant minister with a Catholic mentality—one of the "Free Catholics" of England, and possessed of notable gifts as preacher, theologian and apologist for the historic faith of the Church. In this book he furnishes one of the very best available surveys of certain modern problems and an important contribution to Christian apologetic. In two respects, in particular, he excels: in the frank thoroughness with which he faces the difficulties for faith of our time; and in his skilful disentanglement of the real issues involved from confusing non-relevancies by which they are apt to be obscured.

In his first two chapters he deals with the difficulties growing

out of the sudden modern enlargement of the knowable universe in space and time by astronomy, geology, and other sciences, an enlargement that has made men dizzy, has upset previous perspectives and has reduced faith in God's special care for man and in the drama of divine providence which reaches its determinative manifestation in the Incarnation. The true standard of values is shown to be spiritual and mental, and this vindicates the supreme value of man in the universe. The size and complexity of creation accentuates rather than obscures the purpose of God, man's place therein, and divine providence. The long ages of nature's labour are not evidences of divine limitation, but reveal an adaptation of God's method of working to the end in view, that is, to the evolution of a world suitable for man's education and preparation for his eternal destiny.

The subsequent chapters are practically sequels to the first two, and apply the principles therein vindicated to various problems: to those connected with the vastness and rapid increase of the human race; with the discovery that the Christian religion is not the only one that enshrines spiritual and moral truth; with the intersection of spiritual and civil authority of Church and State, both having divine sanction; with the diversity of races and the Christian brotherhood; with the Church's part in promoting world peace; with the application of Christian ethics to economic sufficiency; and, as in a sense affording the clue to all problems, with the effect of Christian truth and of loyalty to Christ on human unrest. Man is made for God, and therefore is so constituted that this world cannot give him final satisfaction. It remains, even to the consummation, *only a school*—a *suitable* school indeed, but with school limitations and non-finality. Rest is perfectly found only in God; and in this world it is gained only to the degree that life with Christ in God has been inaugurated, given control of all else, and developed.

Dr. Orchard believes in this other-worldly aspect of Christianity. None the less, in dealing with the problem of intersecting ecclesiastical and civil authority (Chap. V), and else-

where, he seems to look forward to the perfecting of this world, and to the complete triumph in earthly affairs at large of the kingdom of God, of persuasion *vs.* coercion, and of the Church *vs.* secular or coercive government. And this, the only serious flaw in his book, seems to require careful consideration.

It is true that the State is "a divine but temporary ordinance," but the argument that because the state "is a divine ordinance" it is "therefore only of a temporary character, and not meant to be permanent," is hardly logical. Surely "divine ordinance" does not itself involve impermanence. The real reason why the State is temporary is because God has ordained it as element of a world which He designs to bring to an end. It will continue, however, while this world lasts. The Church, on the other hand, is permanent because it is the inception of a social order in Christ which is designed to continue, and to reach enduring development, in another world. It initiates the eternal order.

In the meantime, while this world lasts, the jurisdictions of Church and State must intersect. This intersecting, and the ever changing problems involved, afford unescapable factors of the school for eternal life which this world is constituted to be. The Church will no doubt ultimately "supersede the State," but *not in this world*; and to make such superseding *on earth* the final aim of corporate Christian effort is to disregard the purpose for which this world is appointed. The perfectibility to which Christianity looks is not of the world, but of souls and of the Church, and the Church is the only permanent and perfectible society in existence.

Paradox though it be, the value of this world for its God-appointed purpose lies to a degree in its imperfection—imperfection, that is, when viewed and estimated as the sphere of final consummation of God's kingdom.

A school, as such, must be a place of discipline, of difficulties either to be surmounted or to be patiently endured, but insusceptible of entire or final elimination. The earthly Utopia of idealistic imagination, if actualized, would not make this a better

world, for it would make the world a home of luxury, fatal to the spiritual development of such beings as we are.

Two kinds of difficulty emerge in the world—those which are due to human ignorance and selfishness, and those inherent in the school function of the world and in the finite laws of its evolution and continuance. The latter cannot be removed, and constitute hurdles deliberately placed by God in the race-course of human running—not for removal but for our training. The former, including the whole complex of evils growing out of human selfishness, can indeed be to some degree reduced, even for the unspiritual, by wise social and economic adjustments, and by intelligent philanthropy. It is a vital part of Christian duty to promote such adjustments and alleviations.

But only passing alleviations can be accomplished. One sufficient reason is that millions of unconverted souls are being daily added to the world's population in every land, so that the selfish factor remains as an abiding problem. Only a universally converted race can be subjected to the measure of social and external order required for God's purpose by a government of pure persuasion. The need of some coercion inheres in the abiding mixed moral quality of this world's population. No social adjustment is able permanently to cure the evils which it seeks to reduce. There is a constantly renewed element in every community—renewed by natural birth and native sinfulness—which upsets the best adjustments as soon as self-centred minds have learned how to evade or misuse them.

The consequence is that coercive or State government is of permanent necessity for this world, if the divinely sanctioned hurdles in the earthly road to God are not to be converted into insuperable obstacles to spiritual progress. The perfect world of impulsive idealists, and the chaotic world that would ensue if coercive government disappeared from earthly society, are alike inconsistent with the purpose of God.

FRANCIS J. HALL

Christianity and Modernism. By Francis J. Hall. New York: Gorham, 1924, pp. xiii + 174. \$1.25.

Dr. Hall sets an example of Christian spirit in Christian controversy. While maintaining that Modernism is essentially un-Christian, he aims "to avoid invidious personalities," and he does not reflect on the personal honesty of individual Modernists. It is to be hoped that this style of controversy may be generally followed.

Modernism is a vague term. But Dr. Hall considers specifically the views presented in the published works of certain definite persons. In addition to Dr. Leighton Parks' book, *What is Modernism?*, he mentions especially the following: "For example: Bishop William Lawrence, *Fifty Years*; E. S. Drown, *The Creative Christ*; Seven Professors of Cambridge, *Creeds and Loyalty*; Frederic Palmer, *The Virgin Birth*; etc." (p. vi, note 1). He mentions several other writers, and he does not put all of the above on the same level, holding indeed that the "loyal hearted" Dr. Parks seems "to be oblivious of . . . the real standpoint and attitude of Modernism" (pp. vi, 42, 135). Nevertheless this list represents those whose views Dr. Hall is especially considering, and to these views he gives the name "Modernism." Perhaps some of these persons would prefer to be called "liberals," because of the misleading associations of Modernism with certain radicals, as, for example, Loisy, where the historic basis of Christian faith seems to sink out of sight. If the term is used in this sense it would be as unfair to call many liberals "Modernists" as it would be to apply the term "fundamentalist" to all conservatives. If however for the present discussion the term is used to denote the views of those persons whom Dr. Hall mentions by name, it may be allowed to pass without further controversy.

Dr. Hall rightly holds that the battle between Modernists and conservatives is "due to standpoints, to mutually incompatible presuppositions and outlooks" (p. v). Difference of opinion, however, will arise as to the nature of these presuppositions.

He states that the Modernist presuppositions are two: "the naturalistic philosophy and a reduced conception of Christ's Person" (p. viii). He maintains that the "distinctive dogma" of naturalism "is that all knowable reality is subject to the methods of generalized description employed by natural science; and consequently nothing is either knowable or credible that cannot thus be described" (p. 55). Now that such a naturalist point of view is true of these Modernist writers, Dr. Hall gives not the shadow of a proof. He not only makes this assertion about these Modernists, but also asserts of Liberal and Modernist writers in general that: "The more radical among them frankly accept the naturalistic point of view, and are thereby precluded from facing the evidence for miracles. Our Episcopal Modernists do not as a rule consciously go so far; but by their method of argument they do show that the naturalistic idea of the universe controls their imaginations" (p. 58). Certainly such a statement should be supported by careful proof.

Dr. Hall can hardly hold seriously that all Modernists deny reality and credibility to all objects which are not subject to the methods of generalized description employed by natural science. To do so would be to deny that they believe in the reality of beauty or human freedom or love or God, to deny to them all sincerity as religious men. Certainly Modernists are deeply in sympathy with the scientific spirit. And science accepts the hypothesis of continuity and order in the natural realm. To accept this hypothesis of science is not necessarily to go on to the position generally called naturalism, that is, to the position which denies reality to anything that does not fall within the categories of science or some branch of science, of physics or biology or psychology. It is increasingly recognized that there are different levels of reality, to be approached with different presuppositions and different categories of explanation. Certainly all these writers named by Dr. Hall believe in the personality of God and in the love of God. And personality and love cannot be discerned by the methods of physical science. These Modernists are just

as opposed as is Dr. Hall to a naturalism which in stressing uniformity would neglect differences, and in proclaiming the orderliness of the physical realm would deny the reality of the spiritual realm. They will not accept Dr. Hall's statement that they are ruled by the presupposition of naturalism. Such a statement calls for definite proof.

As to the second presupposition of Modernism, that of a "reduced conception of Christ's Person," the question is, What is meant by "reduced"? To Dr. Hall any Christology is "reduced" that does not correspond to his own conception. He evidently holds that the Person of Jesus Christ is purely preëxistent, and that the Incarnation means only the assumption of a human nature which derives its personality only from that of the preëxisting Son. Thus in his doctrine of the Trinity the word *Persona* equals Personality in the full modern sense of that term. There must then be three distinct Personalities, one might say, in modern phrase, three "people," in God. How Dr. Hall guards himself against Tritheism in his theology, and against Apollinarianism in his Christology must be left for him to decide. Doubtless he can find much support in orthodox and Catholic theology. But it is pressing a special type of theology very far when it is asserted that the opposition is "an anti-Christian movement," and that "the point of view of genuine Modernism is hopelessly inconsistent with the historic Christian faith" (p. 138). In short the phrase "reduced Christology" begs the whole question that is involved. It sets up a special standard of orthodoxy and rules out as "anti-Christian" any view that represents a different aspect of Christian thought.

Dr. Hall has attempted to state the presuppositions of Modernism. He does not state what are his own presuppositions, although he frankly acknowledges that he holds them. Some of them are clearly indicated in his treatment. Thus, while claiming to accept the results of natural science "rightly developed" (p. 51) and of Biblical criticism, he yet constantly implies that these results cannot contradict the Catholic faith as he understands it.

This attitude is especially evident in the chapter on "Faith and Freedom." Faith and freedom are "really mutually dependent and mutually protective. I refer to responsibility for rightly seeking, accepting, and obeying revealed truth, on the one hand, and personal freedom in truth seeking, conviction, and expression thereof in word and act on the other hand" (p. 83). Thus, "it is the truth that makes us free." But "the truth referred to is religious truth, that which God has revealed and which had to be revealed if men were to obtain it" (p. 85). And again, "mental freedom in the sphere of our discussion is not unregulated and individualistic intellectualism, but humble-minded pursuit and acceptance of revealed truth, with subsequent guidance of thought by its requirements" (p. 87).

The result is evident. The answer is already given in orthodox and Catholic terms, and any results which do not correspond to that answer are an abuse of freedom!

This same attitude appears in his treatment of miracles. "Miracles may be defined as visible supernatural events." And, "in Christian use the term 'supernatural' applies to that which, although perfectly natural to a super-human agent, in particular to God, is above what is natural to man and to all beings of lower natures than his" (pp. 61, 62). Probably the Modernist would prefer the word "personal" to "supernatural"; otherwise he will not have much quarrel with this definition. The difficulty comes when we ask what were the definite historical events which come under this definition. The problem of miracle is as to whether the action of God, of God's love and freedom, is accompanied by irregularities or discontinuity in the natural order, and if so by what exceptional events it is accompanied. That is a deep problem, and can be solved only by the most reverent and critical and patient study of the facts of religious history and of religious experience. To such a study both conservatives and liberals are summoned. But Dr. Hall assumes that among such definite historical events are included the Virgin Birth, the Resurrection of our Lord with "flesh and bones"

(p. 171), and His Ascension as including His "visible levitation into a cloud" (p. 125). Evidently the Resurrection with "flesh and bones" and the Ascension as implying the "visible levitation into a cloud" must be accepted as facts, and any conclusions of science or criticism out of accord with these results must be thrown out of court as an unwarranted use of freedom of thought. Here undoubtedly Dr. Hall and the Modernist part company.

In his discussion of the relation of the minister to the Creeds, Dr. Hall seems to try to hold two standpoints at the same time. He accepts unreservedly "the claim of the Catholic Church to be the divinely appointed and supernaturally guided teacher of saving truth" (p. 89). But in regard to the question of varying interpretations of the Creeds, he says: "I wish to meet the Modernist contentions wholly on natural grounds, and to use arguments that can be seen to be relevant even by men who look askance at the Catholic claim. *The only ecclesiastical authority to which I shall appeal is the natural authority which belongs to any legitimate organized society to define its nature and functions, and to determine and enforce its rules of membership and official tenure in such wise as to protect them from unauthorized change*" (p. 90; italics in text). This doctrinal position of the Episcopal Church is set forth in its canonical legislation and in the Prayer Book, especially the Creeds (pp. 92, 95). The Church is to deliver this as "*a propaganda of doctrine once for all received*" (p. 95; italics in text). And this position is unaffected by the question whether its doctrine corresponds "with Scripture and Catholic conceptions or not." Dr. Hall thinks that it does so agree. If not he "would not be an 'Episcopalian'" (p. 92).

The inference is clear. Membership in the Episcopal Church is voluntary. But every member is bound to this doctrine, and every minister is pledged to this "propaganda." If he differs from that doctrine he is bound in honesty to leave the Episcopal Church.

Now all this is clear enough if the Episcopal Church is a sect,

and if its conditions of membership are like those of a club. And Dr. Hall evidently regards this as the Modernist conception of the Church! For if the Modernist claims that the Church is "by divine appointment the home of all who acknowledge Jesus Christ," and that therefore "no additional conditions of membership may be imposed by that Church," the answer is that this "argument presupposes acceptance of the Church's supernatural status, and this is hopelessly inconsistent with the Modernist standpoint. To argue on distinctively Catholic premises is not logically permissible unless the Catholic standpoint is accepted, and such acceptance is fatal to Modernism" (p. 91). That is, whatever true idea of the Church is held by Modernists is borrowed from Catholicism, and therefore they have no right to it! And whatever they have that is false represents what Modernism really is! Is this a fair way to treat Modernism? Dr. Hall himself argues from a double conception of the Church, and then accuses the Modernist of doing the same thing! Most Modernists will absolutely reject the sectarian conception of the Church constituted as a mere human society or club, which Dr. Hall tries to foist upon them.

Modernists will not be disturbed by the attack of this book. They will appreciate Dr. Hall's plainness of speech and even more fully his freedom from personal recriminations. And they will be grateful to him for having brought out so clearly the elements which distinguish Modernism from that which Dr. Hall considers to be the only real Christian faith.

EDWARD S. DROWN

The Church of the Spirit. A brief Survey of the Spiritual Tradition in Christianity. By Francis Greenwood Peabody. New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. 208. \$2.00.

Prof. Peabody in his former books has led us to expect an interesting and profitable discussion in this book, and we are not disappointed.

He distinguishes between the Church of Authority and the

Church of the Spirit. According to the Church of Authority, Christ formulated a body of doctrine, and committed it to an organization, the Church, which he founded and to which he gave authority. He also determined the form of the Church. Any departure from the doctrine taught by the authorized Church is heresy, and any departure from the form of that Church is schism. The Roman Catholic Church is the outstanding example of the Church of Authority.

Then the primary duty of the individual Christian is to submit to the Church and to accept those doctrines which the Church teaches and to perform those acts which the Church commands. His loyalty is to the Church and only to the Christ as he is represented in the Church.

The Reformation repudiated the authority of the Roman Church, but as has been said a thousand times, substituted the authority of an infallible Bible.

On the other hand, the Church of the Spirit is the community united for the purpose of studying the teaching of Christ and of obeying that teaching. It is not primarily concerned in the form of the organization and but slightly in the Creeds, but it has a living interest in submission to the Spirit of Christ. The Christian religion asks for obedience to Christ and not for theories of his Person.

The author traces the history of the Church of the Spirit. It began with the teaching of Jesus. His religion was the soul's consciousness of God. He speaks often of the Kingdom of God, that is, of the reign of God, but seldom, if at all, of the Church. He said nothing about ritual or Orders. The Lord's Prayer is simple. The children use it, and understand it. He did not cast his teaching in a metaphysical form. But soon problems of organization came to the front, and thus the Church of the Spirit became subordinate, and the Church of Authority claimed and exercised the right to rule the thoughts and actions of men.

But all along there were mystics who put the emphasis on the

direct communion of the soul with God. This was not entirely acceptable to the Church of Authority.

The Church of Authority aims to bring all the world to submission to its dogmas and Orders. It only has the right to teach. It must be admitted that it is energetic in its missionary work. But the Church of the Spirit also recognizes the obligation to missionary work. It would bring all men into harmony with the Spirit of Christ, but not with the Creeds. The Church of Authority tackles modern problems as divorce, the industrial unrest and so on. But its remedy is law, while the Church of the Spirit would remove the causes of these evils.

A question arises: Does not the Church of Authority attract and hold the people better than the vague, creedless Church of the Spirit? Which is the more prosperous—the Roman Catholic Church or the liberal Churches? Is it not the case that we demand positive teaching and assurance? DAVID F. DAVIES

Hermetica. The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings Which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. Edited with English tr. and notes by Walter Scott. Vol. I, *Introduction, Texts, and Translation*, 1924, pp. 549. Vol. II, *Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum*, pp. 482. New York: Oxford University Press, 1924-1925.

At last we have an edition of the *Hermetica* (exclusive of the magical, astrological, and alchemical writings that have circulated under this name) which is trustworthy in text, accurate in translation, and historical in interpretation. The work is only half-published. There remain another volume of the Commentary and one giving the Testimonia, Appendices and Indices. Unfortunately the editor has not lived to see the completion of the work—which must have been the object of his labors through many years. But since Vol. I contains the texts and translations, there is no need to delay the fresh study of these documents to which their latest publication will no doubt give rise.

It has long been realized that Egyptian Platonism during the first three centuries had a great influence upon early Christian doctrine and upon the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and his fol-

lowers. A thorough historical investigation of all available evidence, both internal and external, leads the author to conclude that our *Hermetica* record the teaching of men who lived in Egypt under the Early Empire, and that they were written before the end of the third century—perhaps near the date of Ammonius Saccas, the teacher of Plotinus (and Origen?). There is not much mysticism, strictly so called, in their ideas; rather they tried to work out a philosophic religion on the basis of Platonism; and they ascribed their teachings to Hermes (Thoth) in much the same way and for much the same motive that we observe in the Jewish pseudepigrapha.

There appears to have been no influence of Christianity upon the Hermetists, though there are traces of Judaism, especially in *Corp.* i and iii. Scott has not paid much attention to linguistic data; it would be interesting to trace the parallels to the LXX that suggest themselves at a first reading of the text. Stoic and Egyptian, as well as Platonic—and even Aristotelian—influence is not absent; and the commentary contains many invaluable notes upon these matters. Scott ascribes the tone of religious feeling that pervades the *libelli* to Egyptian influence. The Hermetists had little if any contact with Christians—hardly more than Plotinus, later; though they must have known that Christianity was in existence. Perhaps they scorned it as popular and vulgar, ignoring it (as they ignored the mystery-religions) as on too low an intellectual level to deserve notice. On the other hand, did Christians borrow anything from Hermetists?

But "borrowing" is hardly the right word. It is not to be supposed that the Christian Church took over this or that theological dogma readymade from Hermetists, or from any other pagans. And yet the Christian Church took over a good deal; for it took over the men themselves. If not the very men by whom our *Hermetica* were written, at any rate most of their sons or grandsons or great-grandsons, and most of their pupils, or the pupils of their pupils, must have turned Christians, as most Pagans did at about that time. Some few of them may have held out, and stuck to Paganism; and the results towards which the teaching of such men tended may be seen in Plotinus and his Neoplatonic successors. But most of them must have turned Christians. And what did that mean? In some respects the change would not be

a large one. The Hermetist, when he became a Christian, would not have so very much to unlearn. If one were to try to sum up the Hermetic teaching in one sentence, I can think of none that would serve the purpose better than the sentence "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." To that extent at least the Hermetist had nothing new to learn from the Christian catechist.

At the same time, their influence in the Church must have been considerable.

So far as their influence extended, there would be a tendency to emphasize those sides or aspects of Christian doctrine and of Christian life which were most nearly in accord with the Hermetic teaching. And though the Hermetic teachers and their adherents must have been few in number in comparison with the mass of Egyptian Christians, their influence may have been far more in proportion to their number; for they were the men who had been most in earnest about religion as Pagans, and they would be much in earnest still. Men of the stamp of these Hermetic teachers must have been prominent among those who set the tone in the Christian monasteries which sprang up in Egypt in the fourth century and took the lead in debates on questions of Christian theology in Alexandria. And in that sense it might be said that in the *Hermetica* we get a glimpse into one of the many workshops in which Christianity was fashioned.

The student of Christian history and doctrine, and of philosophy, gratefully welcomes this fine edition of an important collection of writings, which throw light upon the antecedents of more than one phase of later thought and belief.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

Statement and Inference, with Other Philosophical Papers. By John Cook Wilson. Edited from the MSS, etc., by A. S. L. Farquharson, with a Portrait, Memoir, and Selected Correspondence. Two vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926, pp. cxliv + 409 and vi + 492. 31 s. 6 d.

This is an important and, in some ways, unique work. Relevant appreciation demands constant remembrance of the circumstances and the man; indeed, they emphasise themselves, leaving the reader no choice.

To begin with, the circumstances absolve one from misunderstanding when he says that the English tutorial, as contrasted with the German professorial, system has the defects of its great

qualities. Human relations, insistent from day to day, may well postpone technical "productiveness." For Oxford owes something of its peculiar strength to men of good will who give themselves unsparingly to their pupils and, through them, to College or University, recking nought of reputation on a larger stage. No outsider dare tell how many significant persons have there "reserved for audiences of youths work that merited the judgment of the world" (p. xxxi). T. H. Green's *Works* leap to memory forthwith; even the famous *Prologomena to Ethics* was unfinished. Similarly, laments salute the fragments that remain of William Wallace's *Gifford Lectures*, performances so impressive in oral delivery that, as Henry Drummond, a rare judge, said to me after we had heard the first, "the thing can only be called weird." Any Oxford resident can recount others not a few, past and present. Wilson's case was typical, nay aggravated by an individuality nigh froward. The sundering ocean despite, some of us were aware that "for many years he had been by far the most influential philosophical teacher at Oxford," as Mr. H. W. B. Joseph testifies (p. xxix). Yet, although we might have chanced upon his irascible demolition of Archer-Hind (1889) or, mayhap, upon a series of meticulous notes in a philological journal, publications pertaining to philosophy proper were rarities. Thus, little if any evidence was available "to convey to strangers the power and stimulation of his personal teaching" (p. lxxiv) as tutor, professor, and friend. Perforce we had to take it on faith that "he was not only a teacher of other teachers' pupils, but a teacher of teachers themselves," as Sidney Ball asserts (p. xlv). I suppose this holds in degree of all great teachers who have souls to their hire rather than printed pages to their names. At Oxford, apparently, circumstances conspire to charge this truth with special intimation; to wit, an unusual person may well be his own chiefest "product," more significant by far than a painstaking tome gravid with "references." We in America have still something to learn, above all, to understand, here; better a mature spirit than a superfluous folio. Hence Mr.

Farquharson's piety, persistent through years in face of exasperating difficulties, has contrived a real body from the veriest *disjecta membra*. He gives us on the one hand a revealing glimpse of the Oxford temper, on the other a contribution to logic, epistemology and metaphysics calculated to evoke vital discussion.

As for the man: born in 1849, son of a New Connexion Methodist minister, it is evident that Wilson profited and lost by his cultural tradition. Thanks partly to T. H. Green, he went up to Balliol from Derby Grammar School in 1868, "worked painfully hard," took a double First in Moderations (Mathematics and Classics), and in the Final Schools. Telltale, too, he never lived in College till after election to an Oriel Fellowship (1874). A certain intellectual vanity, pugnacity, and self-confidence were possibly part of the price he paid for "arrival." As a make-weight, he endured hardness to some purpose. He ranked with the best Greek scholars, used German as readily as English, had a firm grip of Mathematics, in short was an all-round master of technical detail, even in the military exercises which absorbed his leisure. Hence the Professorship came early (1889). Remarkable activity as a teacher persisted almost till death (1915). All this and, I imagine, much else must be recollected in any attempt to penetrate to the forthright person behind "these fragments of Wilson's higher thinking" (p. lxii).

Mr. Farquharson's knowledge, judgment, and affectionate insight are conspicuous in the handling of gritty material. With fine wisdom and, be it said, courage, he has disregarded the chronological order of Wilson's MSS. He has recast the material in something like the sequence proper to a logical treatise; but he has taken care to supply the curious with clues to the dates of each section. The result is successful beyond anticipation, albeit, as the student must constantly recall, something of a *tour de force*. The general captions indicate the form of the work: Part I, Introductory (the Definition of Logic, the Relation of Knowing to Thinking, Knowledge and Reality, etc.); Part II, Statement and its Relation to Thinking and Apprehension (the

Term "Judgment" in Modern Logic, Negation or the Quality of Statements, Classification, Definition, etc.); Part III, Inference (Syllogism, Demonstrative Science, Hypothetical Statements, Probability, etc.); Part IV, Special Logic (Induction, Axioms, Empiricism, Symbolic Logic, etc.). It might be most profitable, possibly, to disentangle Part V (Tentative Investigation and Philosophical Correspondence) and, along with it, to mark well the Memoir and the Familiar Letters, in order to approach the main text armed with some apprehension of its fearless, even wayward, uncompromising, yet lovable author, and of the Oxford, where he bulked large. For, as theologians may be interested to learn, his confession about immortality (p. lix), the fragment—alas!—on Rational Grounds for Belief in God (pp. 835 f.), and the commendation of James Martineau "for his bold faithfulness to the facts of our common moral experience" (p. lxxv) hint the profounder depths whence rigorous thought emerged. Significantly enough, the last is reported by Professor C. C. J. Webb, whom Wilson influenced much.

The work ought to be in every philosophical library. Students should hasten to possess it, because it challenges them to grapple at close quarters; here is material demanding real struggle, seeing that, in the nature of the case, tough problems abound. They must expect to return to it again and again. We are under heavy obligation to Mr. Farquharson, and he may rest assured that his stern travail has minted sterling stuff. Nor can one conclude without doing honour to the Clarendon Press for public spirit in refusing to let caution eclipse merit even at a season of financial stress.

R. M. WENLEY

The New Psychology. By E. Boyd Barrett. New York: Kennedy, 1925.

This book bears the imprimatur of the Roman Catholic authorities, and their endorsement means that it is not offensive nor even indifferent to religion. There is no reason why psychology, old or new, should go out of its way for so it must do to antagonize religion. Father Barrett has not sacrificed his science

in keeping fast to his religion. Indeed, it would be difficult to name a book, in spite of the vast number on the subject, which gives a better account of what the new psychology really involves. The problems of the subconscious are fully presented, and the use of the so far ascertained results in psychotherapy are indicated.

There is another excellent feature about this book, and that is its discriminating character. This trait appears everywhere, but may be best illustrated by a single example. Psycho-analysis is associated definitely with Sigismund Freud. This is just, for Freud deserves all the credit for developing and popularizing that branch of mental science. But unfortunately the Vienna professor has announced some very extravagant conclusions in the course of his expositions. Many people were shocked at the conclusions, especially the preeminence of sexual matters, and they condemned and rejected psycho-analysis. Now Father Barrett realizes the true place of the sexual element in life, but he does not believe it is the supreme force in life. He is able to see that Freud's main contention may be sound, that psycho-analysis is an important science, and yet the sexual element does not play the part claimed by Freud.

L. W. BATTEN

Creative Teaching. By John Wallace Suter, Jr. New York: Macmillan, 1924, pp. 159. \$1.00.

The interest of this little book has recently been increased by reason of its author's acceptance of the highest administrative position in Religious Education offered by the Episcopal Church, namely, the Executive Secretaryship in the Department of Religious Education of the National Council. It is fair to expect, as we open the book, that we may discover therein some of the spirit in which this very important branch of the Church's Mission will be administered in the coming days. If so, we shall not be disappointed. For the pages reveal a marked personal quality, and one of an inspiring sort.

The title itself is reassuring, especially from a pedagogical

standpoint. The watchwords of education have too often been of a traditional flavor, urging to imitation, or repetition, or to the application of a given theory, instead of implying the freedom of creativeness. Evidently we have to do with an original mind, sensitive to the power of the Spirit to lead one into undiscovered realms of truth along the road of experience.

There is scarce a glimpse in the book of the administrative side of education. Yet it is plainly based on administrative experience—cullings, one might say, from a notebook of a trainer of teachers. It possesses both the advantages and the defects of such an origin. Its supreme advantage is reality and vitality. It comes not from the study of a theorist or a pedagogical professor, but from the effort of a laboratory worker to assist his less experienced fellow-workers. It contains stimulus as well as direction, hope as well as guidance.

It is not in any sense a treatise. One might have wished for a more extensive setting forth of its fundamental idea. The word "Creative" has power in a title, and one searches to discover in what sense the adjective is applied. The answer is not indeed lacking. But it is almost concealed, and that in the face of a need so great that we seldom estimate it. Creativeness, in Mr. Suter's meaning, refers to the artistry and individuality with which the teacher does his work (pp. 50, 52, 147). The possibilities lying within the pupil's life awaiting development are the medium out of which the teacher creates the new and different individuality which grows under his care. The author calls it "leading," and yet it is more than leading, for it results in more than following. This entire point of view, characteristic of the best modern secular education, is of such tremendous significance, for clergy as well as teachers, that one wishes more pages had been spent upon it. We need to make a deeper impression especially in education of the great truth that religion is "not a topic, but a life" (p. 23) and of our aim, not at a fixed quantum of information, but at a liberated pupil (p. 147).

The book was doubtless kept short and simple, practical in aim,

and abundant in illustration, so that it might meet the needs and the interest of the inexperienced teacher. It matters little that it is frequently disconnected, and occasionally repeats a topic. Sometimes we feel that Mr. Suter expects far more of the average teacher than could wisely be expected. The discussion of a teacher's aim is most valuable (p. 45 ff.) but it remains doubtful whether more than a few teachers are able to cast loose from the Manual after the fashion advised, and write out their own prescriptions like the doctor (p. 49). When this ability is gained, it will be time to abandon manuals—a consummation to be greatly hoped for, but hardly within sight.

Distinctly excellent are the writer's emphasis on the following points: the difference between the active and passive attitudes of pupils (p. 54); the study of pupils, more needed than that of the Bible (p. 22); the extensive scope of a "lesson" (p. 59 ff.); the two kinds of "expressional activity" (p. 84); the group conception of a class (p. 100). Every teacher should read and remember the vital passage (p. 22) on being a spiritual parent, and be warned of the dangers of a Sunday School (p. 42).

Nearly all sides of a teacher's work are touched upon as we survey his "Job," "Preparation," "Lesson," "Pupils," "Class," "School," "Church," "Reading," and finally "Yourself." But we miss some recognition of the corporate life of the School and its demands upon the teacher. The book has been spoken of as a teacher-training text. But it is less adapted for such use than for a vade-mecum for every trainer of teachers, as well as teachers themselves. It is not so much a text as a store of seed thoughts.

Best of all its features are the brief prayers, about thirty in number, which present in the form of petition the burden of their preceding sections. About half of them are attributed to Prof. H. S. Nash. All of them are rich in spiritual thought, and suggestive as well as beautiful in expression. The devotional implication is both pointed and practical. It is distinctly a teacher's collection, suitable for many moods.

LESTER BRADNER

Education and Life. Edited by J. A. Dale. Toronto and New York: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1924, pp. 8 + 316.

This is a volume of addresses delivered at the National Conference on Education and Citizenship, held at Toronto, Canada, April 1923.

The Conference was composed of over fourteen hundred teachers and other educational leaders from all parts of Canada. The speakers were some of the most distinguished educators of England, France and Canada, including Sir Henry Newbolt, Sir Michael Sadler, General Sir Robert Baden Powell, Lord Robert Cecil, Professor Henry Hauser of the University of Paris, Professor Emmanuel de Margerie of the University of Strasbourg, Principal Maurice Hutton of the University of Toronto and others. The addresses express the best educational ideals of the countries from which they come.

The program was arranged with special reference to the "Report of the Committee on the Teaching of English" of which Sir Henry Newbolt was the Chairman. The definition of education contained in that report gives the point of view from which the subject was approached by all the speakers.

It must be realized that education is not the same thing as information, nor does it deal with human knowledge as divided into so-called subjects. It is not the storing of compartments in the mind but the development and training of faculties already existing. It proceeds not by the presentation of lifeless facts, but by teaching the student to follow the different lines on which life may be explored and proficiency in living may be obtained. It is in a word guidance in the acquiring of experience.

Tennyson's words are never quoted but they are near the lips of many of the speakers:

'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant,
More life and fuller that we want.

But some of them do express the conviction that the fulness of life which is the goal of the educational process is that which found its perfect incarnation in Christ and perfect expression in His teaching. For example Mrs. McWilliams in her noble address on "Education as Character Development" says, "It is

character built upon the Christian ethic, though by no means limited to professing Christians," for which "the world calls today."

As one reads these addresses one envies those fourteen hundred teachers their privilege of listening to them. There is not one of them—not even excepting an address on "Geography in Education"—but what is marked by fine thought expressed in beautiful English, and rare breadth of vision. These educators were not thinking merely in terms of Canada's future but of the future of the whole world-wide human family to which Canada belongs. It was quite fitting that one of the last addresses of the Conference should be made by Lord Robert Cecil on "The League of Nations."

It is a book which all who are interested in education ought to read and will enjoy reading. The proof reading has not been done as carefully as is usually the case with works from the Oxford University Press. There are errors on pages 63, 70, 76, 108, 164, 167, and 200.

MAURICE CLARKE

Some New Evidence for Human Survival. By Charles Drayton Thomas. With an int. by William F. Barrett. New York: Dutton, 1925.

There was a time when the testimony of the New Testament was accepted as adequate evidence of immortality. But with present knowledge of the origin and character of the sacred writings, the force of that witness is weakened. Consequently to satisfy the universal human longing for perpetuation of existence, there is a natural eagerness for any new proof. It is pretty clear that the reader of Mr. Thomas' book will close the volume with a sense of disappointment. For the new is only in the form of the evidence, not in its essence. In other words, the author is positive that his father has communicated to him from the other world, therefore his father survives.

The book is occupied with two kinds of tests, the book test and the newspaper test. In the book tests, the sitter is given the substance of matter to be found on a certain page of a certain

volume whose location is exactly fixed by shelf and order in some library. Usually the passage has some reference to the life of the sitter or of his father. The newspaper test is that which Mr. Thomas labels as new. In this the communicator gives a name or names of persons or places which will appear at a definite place in a designated column of the next day's paper and again the names are associated with some memory of past days.

It is made clear that these revelations are given before the paper is made up, but not before the copy is in the office. The father explains his knowledge as due to his visits to the newspaper office and inspection of the matter there. He is somewhat baffled to account for this knowledge of the exact location of the item.

According to the testimony in this book the disincarnate spirit can tell what is on a certain page of a book, the book being closed and on its proper library shelf, and can foresee in what place a certain item will appear in a newspaper, foretelling what will happen in a few hours, but not what will happen two days later.

That we are offered a record of remarkable psychic phenomena, no person can question without doubting the author's veracity, and Mr. Thomas is sure that he has excluded any possible explanation except revelation from those who have "passed on." In just that point he will find that many do not follow him. It is patent that the story frequently discloses the possibility of explanation by telepathy, but it would be difficult to say that that power would account for the whole story. It appears that we know but dimly the full powers of the human mind, but further investigation of these powers must be made before we are permitted to accept the supernatural interpretation of these manifestations.

L. W. BATTEN

The House of God. A History of Religious Architecture and Symbolism.
By Ernest H. Short. New York: Macmillan, 1926, pp. xv + 342 with 110
ills. \$7.50.

This is more than a history of religious architecture and symbolism, though as such it is a most valuable work. It is an interpretation of the meaning, the symbolism of religious architecture, and of the aspiration and faith that created the temples and churches of the world. Mr. Short's qualifications as a historian were proved by his *Introduction to World History*. Here he interprets the spirit that has led man to create and adorn the 'Houses' he has erected to be the dwelling-places of his deities. For example, "If art arose when man was first possessed by the idea of an unrealized principle of order and proportion, Greek architecture and its decorative sculpture nearly approached one of the perfections allowed to man." And he quotes Butcher: "For the Greeks the paramount end was the perfection of the whole nature, the unfolding of every power and capacity, the complete equipment of the man and the citizen for secular existence." There is no dim, haunting air of mystery about Greek architecture, as there was little of it in Greek religion. It was lucid, sun-lit; and the dark side of things was left as it was—in the shadow. Even stronger was the Roman emphasis: "Piety to the gods and obedience to the magistrates alike were civic duties. Naturally, the Roman House of God lacked originality and emotional grip. At first it was municipal; it ended by becoming imperial in characteristics, ornate, and satisfying but businesslike." What it might have become, apart from Roman political imperialism and the cultural invasion of the Hellenistic period—as the late Warde Fowler reminded us—can only be conjectured. Such as it was, it came to an end, though influencing (along with Orientalism) the later Byzantine theories of structure. These in turn gave way before the Gothic, though not before Eastern Christianity had immortalized its conception of religion in carved stone and vast cathedral piles.

The early Gothic builders were venturesome, even audacious,

creators. Their tendency was to pass beyond the limits of stability.

The masons of Christendom were men, and just because they were human, the principle of their effort was that of natural growth—effort being followed by failure and failure by repair, until temporary stability was reached, or the patience and resources of bishop, prince, or commune were exhausted. Not for the Gothic builder the horizontal line of safety; his choice was the vertical upthrust of limitless desire. The wondrous choir of Beauvais, with its halo of chapels, each set in an aureole of glassy light, is at once a token of his effort, his success and his final failure.

The final chapter treats of "Religious Architecture in the Nineteenth Century," including the cathedrals of Liverpool, Washington, and St. John the Divine, New York—which the author calls "America's greatest effort." The book closes with the hope that the future may see a continuance of the revival of popular interest in religious architecture, together with "the training of architects and craftsmen in connection with actual work"—since the creation of churches is a craft as well as an art. And "finally, there is the spiritual aspect. When those who worship seek in a House of God the shadow of the beauty, the love, and the wisdom enshrined in the idea of the God-man, religious architecture will, in truth, have a new birth. When what is best in art is allied with what is noblest in thought and feeling, a House of God will arise again equal in beauty and significance to any in the long history of man." The book is beautifully printed and superbly illustrated.

FREDERICK C. GRANT

BOOKS RECEIVED

The Unknown Bible. By Conrad H. Moehlman. New York: Doran, 1926, pp. 271. \$2.00.

"A study of the problem of attitude toward the Bible" is the description of the book in the subtitle. It is a very good presentation of the modern view of the Scriptures and deserves wide popular reading. It will help many persons to see the modern view and at the same time remain loyal to the revelation contained in the Bible.

The Holy Bible. Containing the Old and New Testaments. A new translation by James Moffatt. New York: Doran, 1926, pp. 1031 + 340. \$5.00.

This is an India paper edition of Dr. Moffatt's translation bound in one volume and printed double-column. Dr. Moffatt's work is already well known and this convenient volume should be on every parson's desk, in every teacher's library, and in every Christian home.

Die Ostkanaanäer. By Theo. Bauer. Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1926, pp. viii + 94.

A philological-historical investigation of the influx of so-called "Amorites" in Babylonia.

The People and the Book. Edited by Arthur S. Peake. New York: Oxford, 1925, pp. xx + 508. \$3.50.

A series of essays by members of the Society for Old Testament Study and dedicated to the memory of George Buchanan Gray. The essays, fifteen in number, include "Israel and the Surrounding Nations" by H. R. Hall; "The Religious Environment of Israel" by Stanley A. Cook; "The Modern Study of the Hebrew Language" by G. R. Driver; "The History of Israel" by Adam C. Welch; "The Methods of Higher Criticism" by Theodore H. Robinson; "The Present Position of Old Testament Criticism" by John Edgar McFadyen; "Hebrew Religion from Moses to Saul" by W. F. Lofthouse; "The Religion of Israel from David to the Return from Exile" by the Editor; "The Development of the Religion of Israel from the Return to the Death of Simon the Maccabee" by W. Emery Barnes; "Worship and Ritual" by W. O. E. Oesterley; "Hebrew Psychology" by H. Wheeler Robinson; "The Contribution of the Old Testament to the Religious Development of Mankind" by R. H. Kennett; "Jewish Interpretation of the Old Testament" by I. Abrahams; "The Value and Significance of the Old Testament in Relation to the New" by G. H. Box; "The Horizons of Old Testament Study"

by G. Buchanan Gray. The format of the volume is similar to *The Legacy of Greece* published by The Oxford University Press.

The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume III. The Assyrian Empire. New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. xxv + 821 with five charts. \$9.00.

The third volume of this great work carries the story of antiquity down to the sixth century in Greece. The earlier chapters recount the story of Assyria. These have been entrusted to Sidney Smith of the British Museum. Two chapters are on the Hittites, by D. G. Hogarth. The Kingdom of Van is treated by A. H. Sayce, and the Scythians by E. H. Minns. Dr. Campbell Thompson contributes the history of the New Babylonian Empire, and the survey-chapter, "The Influence of Babylonia." "The Eclipse and Restoration of Egypt" is described by H. R. Hall, who also contributes a chapter on "Oriental Art." Then follow chapters of exceeding interest and importance for the biblical student. Dr. R. A. S. Macalister writes on the Topography of Jerusalem and traces the growth of the city from earliest times to the days of Herod. It is needless to say that the latest archaeological discoveries are laid under contribution in this chapter; and though very brief, it is thoroughly accurate. S. A. Cook then contributes four chapters upon the history of Israel including not only the political but also the social and religious factors. The last six chapters of the volume are devoted to Greece, D. G. Hogarth treating "Lydia and Ionia" H. T. Wade-Gery "The Growth of the Dorian States," E. A. Gardner and M. Cary "Early Athens" and "Northern and Central Greece." The chapter on colonial expansion of Greece is contributed by J. L. Myers. It is a thorough and authoritative survey and is accompanied by several maps. The final chapter in the volume is on the growth of the Greek City-State and is by F. E. Adcock. All in all, this volume is of the first importance for the biblical scholar as well as the specialist in Ancient History and the classical student. The general reader who has an interest in antiquity will find in this and the preceding volumes of the series an accurate and scientific presentation of the history of the past which is at the same time readable and interesting.

Der Verkehr Gottes mit den Menschen im Alten Testament. By Hans Duhm. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926, pp. vi + 218. M. 8.40.

This is really a history of Hebrew-Jewish religion. It begins with the conception of the "commerce" between God and Man, i.e. the basic conception of religion, as found in early Israel. Although the seer is an indispensable personage in religious development, the chief unit is the people or *Volk*. Out of this early religious world evolved Prophetism and as a third step took place the establishment of Israel as "The people of the Torah." This was a fully developed book-religion and the final developments of Old Testament religion are to be traced in the Wisdom Literature, in scepticism, and in eschatology. Of especial significance is Chapter IX on the "Bridge to the New Testament."

Written from this fresh point of view, Duhm has given us a vigorous picture of the rise and development of Old Testament religion. It is a book that deserves translation.

Sukkah, Mishna and Tosefta. By A. W. Greenup. London: S. P. C. K.; New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. v + 93. 5 s.

This is the latest addition to the *Translations of Early Documents* edited by Oesterley and Box. It gives the translation of both Mishna and Tosefta texts of the tractate Sukkah, which relates to the Feast of Tabernacles. There is an excellent introduction, the notes are good, and the New Testament student will have no difficulty in making his way intelligently.

Sacrifice in the Old Testament. Its Theory and Practice. By George Buchanan Gray. New York: Oxford, 1925, pp. xiv + 434. \$5.50.

When Dr. Gray died in November 1922 his lectures on Sacrifice were not in permanent form. Thanks to the painstaking diligence of an old pupil and friend these have been carefully revised and supplemented, and the work stands before the world in substantially the shape the author would have given it. There are four main sections, representing as many brief series of lectures: The Theory of Sacrifice, The Altar, The Hebrew Priesthood, and The Festivals. Beginning with a challenge to Robertson Smith's theory of the origin and continued significance of Semitic sacrifice as "not that of a gift made over to the god, but an act of communion, in which the god and his worshippers unite by partaking together of the flesh and blood of a sacred victim," he undertakes to substantiate the gift-theory once more. This is safeguarded: he does not presume to say that *all* Old Testament sacrifice is in essence gift; but the gift-theory goes farther back, and emphasizes an element true all along, a factor to which were later added the factors of propitiation and expiation.

Not only is this view of vast significance for the interpretation of the religion of the Old Testament, and of later Judaism, but also for the early Christian beliefs and doctrines. A new problem is set for New Testament students in the closing lectures, dealing with the Paschal observances. "So far as our evidence goes no belief in any special kathartic value in this blood" [of the Paschal victim] is to be traced. Nor are there, in the first century, any indications of a profound philosophy of this (or any other) sacrifice; what was done was done simply because it was the will of God. Nor is there any suggestion that bread and wine have taken the place (in the N. T.) of the Paschal victim; it is "from the non-sacrificial elements in the Paschal meal that the Christian Eucharist derives its symbols." The Johannine narrative of the Last Supper is more historical than the Synoptic; but "what is as a matter of *fact* impossible is in the world of ideas possible," and the New Testament makes it clear that in the earliest Christian generations two mutually exclusive ideas were current: the Last Supper a Paschal meal, and the

death of Christ at the hour of the Paschal sacrifice.—This is sufficient to indicate that all future research in this field will have to reckon with Gray's work.

Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. By Wilhelm Bousset. Third edition, ed. by Hugo Gressmann. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926, pp. xi + 576. M. 16.50.

Bousset's great work is now a part of Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, and it is in a third edition. For purposes of incorporation in the *Handbuch*, it has been entirely reset; and the editor has taken advantage of this occasion to bring the volume up to date. The intervening literature, since the 2d edition, has been incorporated, and many of Bousset's stylisms—especially his use of foreign words and phrases—erased. Gressmann holds to the main theories of the author, and so the book is really improved, brought up to date, and its author's positions strengthened. (On p. 48 the important and enlarged second edition of Charles' *Eschatology*, 1913, should have been listed.) The book is more indispensable than ever to the serious student of the subject it covers.

The Beginning of the N.T. Translated by William Tyndale, 1525. A facsimile of the unique fragment of the uncompleted Cologne edition, with an introduction by Alfred W. Pollard. New York: Oxford, 1926, pp. xxii + 80. \$7.00.

Exactly described by its subtitle. The press-work is exquisite.

Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. By Erwin Preuschen. Second edition by Walter Bauer. Lfg. iv. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1926, coll. 385-512. M. 3.

Each succeeding installment gives an even higher impression of the worth of this new edition of Preuschen's Lexicon. It has now reached *eucharistia*, and hence may be referred to in a fair number of cases. The chief value is in the interpretation of N.T. usage in the light of other early Christian, LXX, and Koiné, as well as classical usages.

The First Age of Christianity. By Ernest F. Scott. New York: Macmillan, 1926, pp. 242. \$1.50.

It is not often that a scholar undertakes to present the history of Early Christianity in a book of less than 250 pages. But the "little books" Professor Scott has already produced have been far-reaching in their importance, all out of proportion to their size. The present work is of course little more than a sketch, but will be useful as an introduction—for students or for popular reading—to its great subject.

An Outline of Christianity; The Story of Our Civilization. New York: Bethlehem publishers (Dodd, Mead, Distributors), 1926. Vol. I, The Birth of Christianity, pp. xxiv + 429. Vol. II, The Builders of the Church, pp. xxiv + 505. \$5.00 each.

Conceived somewhat like other surveys which have appeared in our time, the *Outline of Literature* and the *Outline of Art*, this present work aims to present clearly and accurately the story of Christianity. The moving genius of the work was Mr. R. Harold Paget of New York. He gathered about him a number of first rate scholars to act as directing editors and also a larger group who served in an advisory capacity. The actual writing was entrusted to a large group of competent scholars, the Directing Editors exercising a careful supervision of their volumes and themselves writing a good many of the chapters. The work is wonderfully illustrated and the two volumes now before us give a survey of Christianity up to the Lutheran revolt which is readable as well as reliable. It is a work which should be in every Parish Library, in every school, and in many homes. Public libraries also should have it upon their shelves, within easy reach of young readers. It can be safely recommended by pastors to the parents in their congregations, for use with older children.

Jesus of Nazareth, His Life, Times, and Teaching. By Joseph Klausner. Tr. by H. Danby. New York: Macmillan, 1925, pp. 434. \$4.50.

This is one of the most important of recent works upon the Life of Christ from the Jewish point of view. A good many such works have been written from the liberal Jewish point of view and they have emphasized the likeness of Jesus' teaching to modern liberal Judaism. Here we have a work that is somewhat more orthodox in its Judaism and looks upon the life of Christ somewhat more nearly as an orthodox Pharisee of his time might have done. Not that the work is marred by prejudice or intolerance. Dr. Klausner is a scholar and a man of faith—for example he says regarding the Resurrection, "Deliberate imposture is not the substance out of which the religion of millions of mankind is created." His view of the resurrection, by the way, is that Joseph of Arimathea thought it unfitting that one who had been crucified should remain in his ancestral tomb. He therefore secretly removed the body at the close of Sabbath and buried it in an unknown grave. It was from this empty grave that the story of the resurrection received its first suggestion, but it was the vision of Christ risen from the dead which followed this experience that became the basis of Christianity.

The work is divided into eight books. The first covers the sources, the second the political, economic, religious, and intellectual conditions of the period (and this is of very great importance, especially the chapter on economic conditions; the third to seventh books cover the life of Jesus; and Book VIII treats the teaching of Jesus. Chapters of special interest are those on the Jewishness of Jesus, Points of opposition between Judaism and his teaching,

the Character of Jesus and the secret of his influence, and finally, What is Jesus to the Jews? The secret of Jesus' influence is found in "the contradictory traits in his character, his positive and negative aspects, his harshness and his gentleness, his clear vision combined with his cloudy visionariness—all these united to make him a force and an influence for which history has never yet afforded a parallel." For the Jews, Jesus is "a great teacher of morality and an artist in parable. . . . If ever the day should come and this ethical code be stripped of its wrappings of miracles and mysticism, the Book of the Ethics of Jesus will be one of the choicest treasures in the literature of Israel for all time." So ends one of the greatest of Jewish studies of our Lord, and herein we think lie its values and its limitations.

These Sayings of Mine. By Loyd C. Douglas. New York: Scribners, 1926, pp. xviii + 234. \$1.50.

A series of ten studies of sayings of our Lord which give a fair interpretation of his teachings. They are set in a wide background and given a stimulating homiletical treatment. They are very modern in treatment and use the language of 1926.

Behind the Third Gospel. A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis. By Vincent Taylor. New York: Oxford, 1926, pp. xiv + 279. \$5.50.

A very important study of Dr. Streeter's theory of Proto-Luke. It goes beyond Streeter in its detailed examination of the Synoptic data and in its canvass of earlier criticism. It is interesting to learn that Taylor started from Streeter's article in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1921 and had almost finished his book when Streeter's *Four Gospels* appeared three years later. In general, it may be said that our author's theory of the origin and nature of Proto-Luke stands somewhat nearer to the old Two Document theory than does Streeter's hypothesis. It is unfortunate that Easton's careful study of the Third Gospel did not appear earlier. Any theory of sources must depend upon the accurate evaluation of the book as it stands and as between Proto-Luke and a third document "L" the latter would seem to be a simpler and more reasonable hypothesis. It is probably needed in any event to account for a "Proto-Luke" and it does not carry with it the problems of the authorship and literary genesis of our Gospel which the alternative theory involves.

Ginzā: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer. Tr. with notes by Mark Lidzbarski. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1925, pp. xviii + 619. M. 39.60.

For some time it has been known that the *Ginzā* of the Mandæans contained passages strikingly like some that we find in the Fourth Gospel. This likeness extends to contents and style both. The latest commentary on St. John, that by Walter Bauer, makes considerable use of the Mandæan writings.

Unfortunately, we have had heretofore only Brandt's selection, *Mandäische Schriften*, published in 1893, together with a few other scattered studies. Now, however, the entire collection has been translated by an Orientalist of the first rank and the New Testament student can draw his own comparisons and conclusions. The work appears in the magnificent Göttingen series, "Quellen der Religionsgeschichte."

The main problem of course concerns the date of these writings. It seems that the Mandæan sect was in existence as early as the second century and, according to Walter Scott (*Hermetica*, I, 98), was still to be found in the neighborhood of Basra in the 19th century. Their scriptures were written in an Aramaic dialect and contain a mixture of Babylonian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian ingredients somewhat modified by Christian influence. Though composed in the seventh or eighth century the documents were probably compiled out of much older elements. A precise dating of the sources is out of the question though it seems not at all unlikely that we have here one offshoot of a type of Semitic religion which had considerable vogue and greatly influenced later religious developments, Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan. The center of interest lies more in the type of religious thought displayed than in any actual close parallels in language. There seems to have been, in other words, a quasi-mystical, quasi-philosophical body of religious ideas, beliefs, and terminology afloat in the Near East under the Early Roman Empire. Its influence is to be seen upon early Christianity both negatively and positively, in the Fourth Gospel, perhaps in the Odes of Solomon, and certainly in Christian Gnosticism. We are very greatly indebted to the author and the publishers of this latest work for putting in our hands so invaluable a document for study in this field.

The Beginnings of Christianity. Part I. The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. III, The Text of Acts. By James H. Ropes. New York: Macmillan, 1926, pp. cccxx + 464. \$9.00.

It is safe to say that no more thoroughgoing investigation of the text of Acts has ever been published, nor a more complete collection of material for the study of the textual history and for textual reconstruction of the book. Dr. Ropes' conclusion is that the original text of Acts was more or less that of Westcott and Hort. The book was written, we know not where, toward the end of the first century, and was early separated from its companion volume of evangelic history. Before the middle of the second century one of its slightly divergent copies was "drastically rewritten to suit the taste of the time," and thus arose what is known as the "Western" text of Acts. To Alexandria we owe the preservation of the earlier text, roughly equivalent to its later representative Codex B, a text-type which Ropes designates as "Old Uncial." In the West the two types were combined, resulting in the "later virtual elimination of 'Western' elements." In the East a long contest continued between the Alexandrian and the Syrian Revision types, the latter

represented by Antioch, and the Cæsarean text fathered by Eusebius; the contest closed with Antioch—allied with Constantinople—supreme.

Section VIII of the Introduction gives a list of 34 suggestive further tasks in the elucidation of the textual history of Acts. This in itself will be a great stimulus to students.

The editors, Professors Foakes-Jackson and Lake, are presenting the world with a series destined to be fruitful for many years to come. The present volume belongs towards the end of Part I as the series was originally planned. Volume IV presumably will give us the Commentary upon the Book of Acts. It is interesting and significant that the authors have begun with the second Lukan writing, rather than with the first or with the Synoptic Gospels as a *point du départ*. Evidently they feel that primitive Christianity is best studied as a contemporary in the Graeco-Roman world might have studied it—e.g., as Luke's friend Theophilus might have viewed it, in a friendly, sympathetic, and yet critical way. By means of the Books of Acts we can see early Jewish and Gentile Christianity as it was, a living faith in every day life. This is a somewhat different approach than that to which we are accustomed, and it is one full of promise.

The Portraits of Jesus Christ in the New Testament. By Henry S. Coffin. New York: Macmillan, 1926, pp. 96. \$1.00.

A popular presentation of the different stages of Christological development in the New Testament. The book was originally a series of sermons and bears the fine stamp of all Dr. Coffin's pulpit work.

Civitas Dei. By Edgar Salin. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926, pp. 245. M. 12.

This is a study of the growth of the idea of the Christian Empire as outlined by St. Augustine. The development of Catholic Christianity is traced from Christ and the Gospels to the fully developed Catholic system following St. Augustine's time. The book forms a capital introduction to the study of St. Augustine and is not without importance for the present day when much of the received organization of Christianity is being dropped into the crucible by ardent and independent spirits. The problem is no doubt more pressing in Europe than in America, but an answer—historically trustworthy and religiously satisfying—is demanded here also. There is a vast difference between explanations that may be given of the organization of the Church, Episcopacy, authority of councils, the tribunal for the trial of heresy, etc. If the answer given is "divine ordinance," that settles some things (not all, as our conservatives hold) and leaves many others untouched. If the answer is "utility," that also solves some problems but leaves many untouched. What is needed, in the Episcopal Church as elsewhere, is a thorough, honest, scholarly, historical investigation and at the same time a faith in the living reality and guidance of the Spirit of God, Who has, we may believe, not led the Church into error.

